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Part 1

MADRAS MUSEUM PLATE OF SRI RAMACHANDRA DEO

By G. RAMADAS, B. A., M. R. A. S.,

This document is now preserved in the Madras Museum, but it is not known how it went there. The Secretary of the Andhra Historical Research Society having obtained an ink impression of it from the Superintendent of the Museum, sent it to me to edit it for the Journal of the Society.

From the print supplied to me it may be seen that the plate is in good preservation and the writing is on both sides of it. It is a single plate 7.2 inches by 2 inches. The first two lines of the document are written from the top of one side. Then the plate is turned over from right to left and six lines are written there, then the plate is again turned over that the lower edge might come up, the two lines that finish the document are inscribed there—Thus the two lines of the beginning and the two finishing lines, of the charter are on one side and the body is on the other side. In all the grants of the rulers of the dynasty to which the donor of the present charter belonged, this system of writing is observed.

The language is pure Oriya and there are not many noticeable mistakes in spelling. Some peculiarities of the language may be given here. Short 'a' whether in combination with consonants or alone is pronounced like short 'o'. The two sounds of 'ya', the palatal and the Dental are represented by two different letters, e. g. 1.7. Jāvaschandrārke and 1.3 nirnayo. In 1.7 Jāvat + chandrārke is combined into Jāvaschandrārke.

The donor of the grant was Manārāja Ramachandradeo, the ruler of Nandapura. He bore the titles of Rajādhiraja, Mahārāja, Vīrādhivīravapratāpa. These titles are even recited at the time

when the Mahārāja of Jeypore sits on the throne during the time of Dasara. Consequently the donor of the grant is an ancestor of the Zamindar of Jeypore.

I have seen two other plates granted by the same donor. One is published in Part IV, Vol. II of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. It is dated in Saka 1728, Yovian year Kṣaya, on Monday, the 19th day of Mithuna, Month Ashādhā, full moon day. And it is stated that the grant was made at the time of a lunar eclipse. This date by calculation corresponds to 30th June 1806 A. D. The other grant is with a gentleman in Jeypore and he is now in the enjoyment of the land granted in it. Two dates are given therein; but in none the saka year is mentioned. The first is Yovian year Bhāva. Monday, 14th day of Dhanus Margasira full-moon when there was a lunar eclipse. The second is Yovian year Sidharta, Friday the 28th day of cancer, Sravana sudhā 8th tithi. The former date corresponds to 26th December 1814 and the latter is equivalent to 9th August 1799 A. D. The present charter is dated in Saka 1723, Yovian year Durmati, Friday, the 8th day of Scorpio, Kārtika full-moon and it corresponds to 20th November 1801. From these it appears that the donor of the grant under review was the ruler of the Province of Nandapur from 1799-1814 A. D.

The places mentioned in the grant:—Jeypore Durgama is the modern town of Jeypore in the Vizagapatam Agency. It is surrounded on all sides with hills and it was really inaccessible till the ghat road from Salur was opened.

Thorodiput the object of the grant is a small village to the South of Jeypore. In the charter this village is said to exist in the country lying to the fore front of the hill fortress of Jeypore. As the village lies to the South of the town, it appears that the approaches to Jeypore from Nandapur were from the South. Even now people generally go to Nandapur towards the South. The river Kolab flows to the South of Jeypore at a distance of 8 miles. At the place where now the P. W. D. are constructing a bridge across the river are big and small boulders and rocks which in shape appear like elephants and treasure chests. Tradition says that when a ruler of Nandapur was coming to Jeypore for refuge, his elephants and the treasure chest were drowned in the river and were petrified. This tradition shows that it was along this route that there was communication between Jeypore and Nandapur.

I have discussed about the antiquity of Nandapur already in my paper, 'Brief survey of Nandapur History, published in 1925 in the Vizianagaram Maharajah's College Magazine.

The inscription closes with an imprecatory verse, and finishes with the royal seal of the Nandapur rulers. It consists of two parts;

the first one which is like 3 followed by two units is called the 'makutam' and is written by the inscriber himself. It is a sign of royalty. This is used by not only the occupant of the throne but by every other member of the family. The second part which consists of a loop and a line is said to represent the rope used by the Lambadis to drive their pack bullocks. It is written in the document by the ruler himself. There is curious tradition to account for the inclusion of pack-bullock-whip in the royal seal of the Nandapur Kings.

Vināyakadeo, the founder of the present family of Jeypore, married the only daughter of the last King of Nandapur of the Śilavamśa family and succeeded to the throne. But the kinsman of his wife's family rebelled and drove him from the country. Then a leader of the Lambadis helped him with cattle and men to recover his kingdom. From that time, the Rajahs of this house adapted the Lambadi whip in their seal to commemorate their gratitude to the whole tribe. Moreover, on Sravana new moon day cattle of all kinds are made with clay and are worshipped; this is also done, they say, in gratitude for the help rendered to the founder of the dynasty by the leader of the pack-bullock men.

The real significance of this seal of these rulers appears to be quite different from what is given by this tradition. In the article I propose to write on a grant of an ancestor of the donor of the one reviewed now, I shall discuss the real significance of these insignia of the kings of Nandapur.

TEXT

First side.

1. Śrī Śubham-astu || Śālīvāhana Śakābda 1723 Durmatī nāma samvatsara
2. Kārtika Śuddha 15 Śukravāre, baddha Dinabandhū dāsaṅku avadhāna kollā patthā ||

Second side.

3. Pattha nirṇaya [1] Jayapura durgamara daṇḍapāṭha dēsa sman-dara Thharadi puta grāma ē
4. -dina Dānakori avadhāna kollā jē ē grama sandhi simānta nidhi nikkhāta gacchha mā—
5. -Ccha padara pankhāla kāṣṭha Pāṣāna cchāya upacchāya samēta to putra pautrādi
6. Pāram = paryante jāvaschandrarke bhasmāntake dānabhogē bhogokara nischi—
7. -ntare thhiba ॥ E thhire āna avadhāna nāhi ॥ Sri Rājādhirāja mahā—
8. -rāja Virādhiviravara pratāpa Sri Nandapura-bhūpati Sri Ramachandra

First side—upside down.

9. -deva mahārājāṅkara sanamata ❖ svadatta = ddvigunam = puṇyam
paradattānupālanam||
10. Paradattāpa hāreṇa svadattam niṣphalam - bhavāt- (The royal
seal).

TRANSLATION

Hail! In the year 1723 of Śālivāhana saka, Yovian year named Durmati, Friday, the 8th day of the Scorpio, & 15th, tithi of Kārtika this charter is granted to Dīnabandhu dāsa.

The conditions of the charter are:—The village of Thoridiput which lies in the country in front of the fortress of Jeypore is, to-day granted to you with libations of water (dāna). So, this village with all mines and minerals, woods and fish, high and low lands, timber and stones, shadow and shade, lying within the limits and boundaries of this village shall ye and your de-cendants enjoy till the earth, the sun and the moon come to destruction. Be free from all concern. There shall be no hindrance or obstruction to this (gift). This is approved by Sri Rājādhirāja mahārāja Virādhiviravara-pratāpa sri mahārāja Ramachandra deva, the auspicious ruler of Nandapur.

To protect the gifts made by others is doubly more meritorious than the charity made by oneself. If the gifts given by others are confiscated, one's gifts become meritless.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE BRAHMINICAL HEIRARCHY IN ANCIENT INDIA¹

By S. BHIMASANKARAO, B. A.

I

At a time when the poor accursed Brahmin is rightly or wrongly believed to be the oppressor who had kept down all other castes from the portals of knowledge and monopolised all wisdom for himself and upon whom heaps of abuse are showered from all quarters, it is not an unprofitable and uninteresting historical study to trace the origin, growth and development of the ancient Aryan Brahminical Heirarchy which had played such a conspicuous part in shaping and fostering the great Aryan socio-religious and political institutions, which even at this day command the respect and admiration of the civilized world. The great Oriental Research Societies of Europe and America have handsomely acknowledged, the splendid contribution which this ancient Aryan Brahmin Heirarchy had made to the world's stock of knowledge and has bestowed their unstinted praise and admiration for the records and writings left by them which have been published from time to time during the last half a century. The claim of this Brahmin Heirarchy as the pioneers of all intellectual thought and activity in Arts and Sciences, Religion and Philosophy and Humanities has been ungrudgingly upheld at the bar of the world's public opinion and Sanskritists are now more respected and honoured than before in all intellectual circles and in the World's Universities; Sanskrit, the Language of the Aryan Brahmin in which he recorded his thoughts and doings and which he developed to its farthest extent has rightly been given the front rank among the world's languages owing to the richness of its vocabulary and the wealth of its forms.

Far be it from my purpose in dealing with this subject, to belittle the importance and significance of other castes and peoples in the body politic of the Indian Nation but on the other hand, I do believe that every man and every thing has had a purpose and a function to fulfil in the world's dispensation; nor is it my purpose to decry the nonbrahmin as against the present day English educated brahmin who bears the least resemblance to his ancient prototype and to cause offence to the feelings of both to any the slightest extent; nor do I wish to fill the role of an apologist for the Brahmin Heirarchy which must stand or fall on its own merits. The evolution of the Brahmin Heirarchy in Ancient India is certainly a matter of great

¹ A paper read before the 7th Annual Meeting of the Society held on 7-4-1928.

historical interest and its growth and development are surely instructive historical study and as such we enter into it in a spirit of impartial enquiry.

II

"To this day India is a witness to the profound spiritual and civil influences which the Brahmin Heirarchy have exerted for nearly two millenniums. However much many may be inclined to criticise their methods, no unprejudiced person can withhold his admiration of the Brahmins' enthusiasm, their genius, their devotion to what they considered the peoples' highest good and god's express will; the establishment of a kingdom upon earth where God should be the sole king and they themselves, His chosen representatives, to carry out his behests. Out of the whole population of India since it became a nation, no class has arisen to such an eminence or exercised such a profound influence for weal or woe upon India as have the Brahmins. They represented the brain of the nation being its most gifted members of the community. They represented not only the intellectual gifts of the Aryan Nation but also its moral consciousness and spiritual aspirations. The Brahmin's influence was at first chiefly religious and intellectual and gradually it assumed a political character as the real power behind the throne and this they retained in full force for many centuries and to some extent still continue to do so".

"In course of ages after many conflicts with the Kshatriya race the Brahmin emerged from the struggle completely victorious and on account of the theory of their divine calling which caused them to be looked upon as incarnations of the highest, they became the first in the Aryan state in the estimate of the people and secured not only the sole worship of the nation and its religious instruction but became the sole representatives of science, art, medicine and philosophy indeed the whole circle of human knowledge could only be administered by them. In return for these invaluable privileges which he obtained, he relinquished his claims to all kingly dignity and rule and denied to himself the right of earning a living outside his caste duties and above all he is to lead a simple life of holy living both by practice and precept so that others might follow his example. They had to be deeply versed in all rituals and sacrificial services besides becoming masters of secular training, useful to the community and to the nation at large. Thus they became at once the nation's priests, the kings' councillors, the educators of the young, the almoners of the poor, the comforters of the sick and dying, the law givers, judges, men of science and philosophers and poets. The enormous number of learned works still extant bear witness to their extra-ordinary industry and profound learning. These ancient Brahmins have left a deeper mark and a stronger impress upon History, Science, Philosophy, Laws

and Religions of mankind than any other unit in the world. All over India they regulated the civil life by carefully classifying all previously existing domestic and civil rights and duties. They compiled precise laws, for the administration of justice, of religious penance, of purification and caste rules. They have laid down the whole body of criminal law, laws of property, inheritance, marriage and land laws, and regulated village systems. So careful and minute were those laws and regulations, that they have stood the test of more than two thousand years and are still the standards of appeal in India. They employed the Sanskrit language which they perfected to such an extent that it became one of wonderful copiousness and exquisite refinement and it became the only repository of all ancient Hindu laws religion, philosophy and observances. In poetry, drama, fiction and in all branches of Literature and Arts, the Brahmins excelled. In music the brahmins invented the seven notes with complex divisions, modes, subtones, in early centuries B.C. In medicine, they gained distinction as anatomists and dissectors in their profession of sacrificial priests and became perfect masters in surgery and astromony. The brahmins had the distinction of being the first who taught the rotation of the earth on its own axis and explained the causes of the eclipses of the sun and moon. The brahmins practically laid the foundations in all branches of learning such as grammer, philosophy, arithmetic, algebra and logic. Thus for more than 1500 years, the literary and scientific schools of the Brahmins have influenced profoundly all branches of learning. The world therefore owes a great intellectual debt to these gifted Aryan Brahmins who rose to become leaders in all sciences, arts and literature which they either created or fostered, although in after ages they became much more famous for their religious and philosophical systems.

“To sum up the leading results of their intellectual and spiritual work, they gave a learned language for all higher branches of study, they established on a legal basis a fixed form of Government and organised religions and social system with an elaborate ritual which embraced the minutest part of life and brought into existence political codes and law books for guidance of mankind. They elaborated several philosophical systems of which only 6 darsanas have come down to us, containing ethical maxims of unsurpassed beauty and sublimity besides producing a vast and wonderful literature in their sacred scriptures, poetry, art and drama. They fostered a devotional spirit of high morality and spirituality and erected a spiritual Empire all over India which included Hindu religion, learning, rites, laws, manners and civilization. In short, the brahmin caste can boast of having produced great speculative thinkers, statesmen, philosophers and scientists and more especially religious leaders and seers of the

race who combined a high religious and intellectual type with minds of singular subtlety and devotion."

Such is the eulogy pronounced by a great European oriental Scholar and Sanskritist, which is contained in the three passages quoted above regarding the Brahmin Heirarchy of Ancient India. It may be a little bit high-sounding and exaggerated and an overdrawn picture to our modern view but in many of its essential aspects, it is regarded as literally true and as such I quoted in extense, as it forms a fitting prelude to the subject of our enquiry.

III

To begin with we must go back to the Rigvedic times and examine the conditions of society at that time and see whether we can discover there, any traces of the origin of the Brahmin Heirarchy during that period. By the time the Aryan tribes entered Punjab through the North Western Himalian passes they ceased to be of a nomadic character and were not semi barbarous tribes but were advanced, both in culture and civilization. The Vedas, the bed rock of Indo-Aryan civilization are not the literature of an uncultured people but represent the culture of a race of warrior poets and philosophers, who despised the arts of commerce and lived mostly by agriculture, with one hand on the sword and the other on the plough. They were purely Nature worshippers like their Iranian brothers. The Aegean, Babylonian and Dravidian cultures were essentially mercantile civilizations with no spiritual outlook and in the nature of things it is not probable to suppose that the ancient Aryans borrowed any thing from them. The orthodox theory of the Aryan migration which has been current for a long time past, has now been assailed and is rudely shaken and its historical truth is doubted at present. Into the question whether Aryan migration into India is mere myth invented with no historical foundation or whether the Aryans were autochthonous, we need not enter at present as it is unnecessary for our purpose for, we may begin our enquiry with the Aryan settlements in the Punjab.

Early Indo-Aryan Society was based on the Patriarchal system as opposed to the Matriarchal Dravidian system in which the father was the head of the family and not the mother. Cattle-farming and agriculture were their principal means of sustenance, Predatory warfare was incidental to inevitable tribal quarrels. The Aryan Patriarchal families were grouped round the chieftain's hill fort which was the centre for mutual defence, for the common tribal sacrifices and the meeting place of the Sabha of Grihastas, householders. In the course of centuries as the families grew and tribes became large, there was pressure for more land and consequently there was the movement towards the East, when once the Aryan

settlers secured their position and obtained a firm footing on the soil of India, a process of assimilation went on in the course of centuries between them and the Dravidian and Aboriginal races, by which the Indo-Aryan village system was evolved which had for its superstructure the higher culture and organisation created by Aryan genius and dominated by Aryan spiritual ideals. Then the great problem for the Aryan thinkers was to prevent their race from being utterly submerged in the process of adaptation to their environment, which was an inevitable consequence of the permanent occupation of the country. The instinct of race preservation, together with a profound conviction of a divine guidance formed the basic principles of the code of laws and social customs which became a part of the sacred literature of the Aryan nation. The term "Aryan" which was originally a purely racial distinction confined to the "five peoples" or the five principal Aryan tribes "*Pancha-janah*" came to mean all the people who were within the Aryan pale and conformed to Aryan laws and institutions. The five social grades partly based upon race and partly upon occupation were the four recognised varnas, known as the pure classes, the brahmins, kshatriyas, vaisyas and sudras, and the fifth, which included the offspring of intermarriages not recognised by Aryan law. The brahmins formed the priestly class, the kshatriyas were the fighting men, the vaisyas, the common people engaged in occupations connected with the necessities of life and the sudras were the menial labourers including the lower ranks of handicraftsmen and tillers of the soil.

IV

It is the ideal of purity and the fear of deterioration of race that led the Aryans to introduce social distinctions amongst themselves as well as the Non-Aryans. With the gradual development of the Vedic theory of sacrifice it came to be interpreted in a spiritual rather than a physical sense and thus denoted a barrier which separated those who could participate in the benefits of the Vedic ritual, from the impure whose very presence would vitiate the efficacy of the sacrifice. If we examine the conditions of society obtaining in the Rigvedic times when the Aryans made their permanent settlements in the Punjab, we find that its essential feature is sacrifice and nature worship. The primitive idea of sacrifice was simply to offer a thanks-giving to the Gods. To this was added gradually by offering to the deities, the essence of the best part of the food which the worshippers consumed so that the Gods were both gratified and nourished. A further stage was reached when it was thought that by sacrifices, favours could be obtained. Every house holder had to perform sacrifices and the tribal chief had also to perform public sacrifices for the prosperity and success of the entire tribe. During the times of

Vasishta and Visvāmitra when the great poetry of the Rigveda was produced neither the priestly class nor the other classes seems to be hereditary. The warriors of the community were the agricultural and industrial classes and the priesthood was not hereditary. It has been held that the brahmin was not necessarily a member of a hereditary class at all and that the term could be applied to any person who was distinguished by genius, virtue and who for some reason was deemed specially receptive of divine inspiration. Any one who had the gift and talent to compose hymns, which attracted the attention and commanded the admiration of his fellowmen might be honoured with the appellation of Brahman *i. e.* a sage, an offerer of a prayer. Any one who rose to the distinction in the profession of arms might be termed 'Kshatriya *i. e.* a man possessing power. During the earlier part of the Rigvedic period, the term Brahmana could be applied to any member of an Aryan community who composed hymns and offered prayers and gradually, it came to be restricted, towards the latter part of the period, to signify a kind of priest. There was a state of constant warfare between Aryans and Non-Aryans and they were fighting for supremacy in India. The Aryan tribes found it necessary in order to defeat the solid forces of Non-Aryans and aborigines, that they should mass themselves into centralised kingdoms, the petty tribal princes who thus lost their rank found employment and profit in becoming a standing armed force, ready to resist sudden incursion or to crush the attempts at rebellion of the defeated Non-Aryans and aborigines. On the other hand, the industrial and agricultural population relying on the protection of the warrior class, abandoned the use of arms. Thus it was owing to sheer necessity of the times, that a class of people had to confine themselves exclusively to military pursuits, and this class became Kshatriyas. When once these became distinguished in war and became leaders of forces, they became no longer competent to officiate in sacrificial rites. The increase of Aryan tribes required further extensions of territory and so a further penetration into the country east of the Punjab had to be effected. Together with the growth and size of the kingdom and the increasing complexity of the civilization and the elaboration of a simple ritual of an early period into a complicated system of sacrificial rites and formulæ and to guard against the supposed dangers to the community which might arise from errors in their performance, it was found necessary and imperative to engage none but highly trained experts in the performance of all these important tribal ceremonies and sacrifices upon which the prosperity and the success of the tribes was thought so largely to depend. With the growth of the population and with the increase of the country, the king could no longer perform the sacrifices himself and it became highly impracticable and it led to the employment of others. Besides an ever increasing

importance came to be attached to the faithful and exact performance of the rites and ceremonies at the sacrifices and the necessity for the preservation of the traditional formulæ was felt keenly and hence arose the priestly class who were originally merely attendants at the tribal sacrifices, who chanted the accompanying hymns and had charge of the sacred vessels, and who used to arrange the details and the necessities for the sacrifices to be performed by the tribal chieftain in the interests of the whole tribe. For a good many centuries after the Rigvedic hymns were composed, the works produced by these Aryans were chiefly manuals for the proper performance of the sacrifices (*i. e.*) the Brahmanas. The chanting of the hymns to the Vedic gods was accompanied by sacrifices—offerings of grain, milk, butter, ghee, animals and soma-juice. The characteristic idea of the Vedic cult of sacrifice seems to be a kind of bargain with the deities. Man needs things which Gods possess and in return Gods seek offerings and there is giving and receiving on both sides. Gradually the cult increased in complexity until the simple nature worship of Rigvedic Aryans was practically replaced by a dry creed of sacrifice and penance. Thus there arose different classes of priests who performed different duties at sacrifices. One class prepared the ground and the altar, got the sacrificial requisites ready and immolated animals; another was entrusted with the duty of singing and a third, with that of reciting hymns, and a fourth class of priests was charged with general superintendence. It was provided that every hymn should be recited in a particular manner—and every word every syllable must be pronounced in a particular way. The minutest rules were framed for penance, not only for mistakes committed and observed during a sacrifice but also for hypothetical mistakes which might have escaped the observation of the priests.

On the one hand the warriors of the community had to devote themselves exclusively to the military profession, that of subduing the Non-Aryans and the aborigines and consequently they could no longer associate themselves with the performance of the sacrificial ceremonies and rites; on the other hand an elaborate and complicated ceremonial has gathered round the performance of sacrifices to which great significance and sanctity were being attached and consequently it required a special class of people to attend to it. The result of this process must inevitably lead to the growth and formation of separate classes, the priestly class and the Kshatriya class and the Vaisya class the commonality of the people sharply distinguished from one another and becoming hereditary in course of time. If once the occupations are confined to particular classes and become fixed, the result must inevitably tend to their becoming hereditary. But the comparatively late date of this development is shown by the fact that in later times, *i.e.* during the times of the later Samhitas, Brahmanas and Aranyakas,

the inhabitants of the north-west which was the home of the Rigveda, were looked upon and regarded as semi-barbarians by those of the Madhya Desa (the present United Provinces) in which the Brahmanical civilization had developed itself to a large extent, on the ground that they do not follow the strict principles of caste system. Do we not even now regard the Northern Brahminism as a weak one compared to ours! while there is much truth in the above view, it must be admitted that it exaggerates the freedom of Rigveda from caste. As we have seen, the probabilities are that the main, though not the earliest part of the Samhita had its origin, not in the Punjab proper but in the sacred country of later Brahmanism, the land known in the Samhitas as Bramha-Varta. There is no actual proof in the Rigveda that the priesthood was not then a close hereditary class. The term Brahmana son of Brahma seems on the contrary to show that the priesthood was normally hereditary class, and that there is no instance which can be quoted of any person who is said to be other than a priest appearing to exercise priestly functions. There is an instance of a king exercising the functions of a domestic priest and performing sacrifices for the people but the alleged case of Devapi appears only on the assertion of a commentator on Hymn X.98 in which Devapi appears originally as a king. Even if this were the case, it must be remembered that even after the establishment of the complete caste system it was still the privilege of the kings to exercise some priestly functions, such as that of the study of the nature of the absolute, a practice ascribed to them in the Upanishads. Even in the latest Rigvedic period we have no grounds to suppose that there was a special class which reserved its energies for war alone and that the industrial population and agriculturists allowed the fate of their tribes to be decided by contest between warrior bands but Rigveda certainly knows of a ruling class, the Kshatriya and the vedic kingship was normally hereditary, so that we may believe that even then there existed though perhaps only in Embryo a class of nobles who are aptly named in the terms of Purusha Sukta "Rajanyah" as being men of kingly family. There are traces moreover of the division of the Tribes into holy power Brahmin, the kingly power Kshatriya, and the commonality the Vaisyas and while it is true that the caste system was in the process of development, it seems impossible to deny that much of its groundwork upon which the later elaborate structure was based was not already in existence.

V

The Rigidity and exclusiveness of the caste system was largely the product of subsequent ages but not of the Rigvedic period. Nor is it right to suppose that the rigour of the caste was imposed upon India by the craft and subtlety of the priesthood only bent on

self-aggrandisement. It was rather an inevitable consequence of the peculiar conditions and circumstances which produced Aryan civilization in India. If it is assumed that a certain race few in numbers and surrounded by a vast population of aliens had by profound insight or by revelation obtained a knowledge of the laws of life, far above that of their fellow-men, it would be obviously for the advantage of the community at large, that the purity of the race should be maintained by strict marriage laws and the utmost care should be taken to hand down to posterity a tradition so pregnant with human happiness. The Aryans believed themselves to be in possession of this precious knowledge and lest it should be perverted or made a weapon in the hands of unscrupulous adversaries, by common consent it was guarded as a national palladium and entrusted to the custody of a class specially selected and trained for the purpose. Caste laws were laws of spiritual eugenics, designed to promote the evolution of a higher race. It was by a process of natural selection, that the brahmins, originally only attendants at the tribal sacrifices, who chanted the accompanying hymns and had charge of the sacred vessels, gradually obtained precedence over the kshatriyas, who in vedic times combined priestly functions with their military profession and were the representatives of the purest Aryan stock. Social and racial prejudices would certainly be subordinated to considerations of national security in a state of constant warfare which existed so long as Aryans and Non-Aryans were fighting for supremacy in India. It became very likely that the blood of kshatriya Aristocracy would tend to become mixed by the admission into their ranks of Non-Aryans and men of mixed race who were distinguished in war but were not competent to officiate in sacrificial rites. The increasing complication of these rites and the supposed dangers to the Aryan community which might arise from errors in their performance also made it imperative that none but highly trained experts should be allowed to take part in them. And not only was the brahmin class, by reason of its occupation, less liable to mixture with Non-Aryan blood but the intellectual training which alone entitled the Aryan brahmin to their special privileges, was intended to qualify them as teachers and spiritual leaders of the people. The brahmin at birth stood on the level of common humanity even as a sudra. It is only at the ceremony of Investiture (Upanayana) with the sacred thread and initiation into the state of Brahmacharin when his spiritual father and Brahman guru whisper into his ear, the mystic formula of Gayatri which contains the essence of all Vedas, that he is born to Brahminhood and is entitled to the exceptional privileges of his class. According to Manava Dharma-sastra, the moral standard prescribed for their order in the rules codified by Manu is a very high one. The Brahmin should constantly spurn worldly honour as he would shun poison. He was required to

live abstemeously, to shun sexual excesses of every kind, and to observe strict rules of personal hygiene. As a Brahmacharin, he must control his passions, study Vedas and beg his food. As a Grihasta, he must speak truth, keep himself pure in mind and body avoid all kinds of wealth and live with least possible injury to all animated beings and as a sanyasin he should renounce worldly life and pleasure for a forest hermitage. Such was the rigorous discipline and control which they prescribed for themselves, and people in the world voluntarily submitted themselves to such a course of rigorous disciplinary life. Manu says that the brahmin who neglected the rules of his order and took to occupations other than those prescribed by the rules would lose his status as a brahmin and should be treated as a Sudra. The marriage laws and strict rules of exclusion were in the social conditions which then prevailed in India, found necessary for their protection as they were the special custodians of the honour and traditions of the Aryan race. The Brahmins as a class never claimed for themselves, the prerogatives of kingly office but only special rights of being the King's philosopher, guide and friend. The laws of Manu, a code drawn up by them for themselves distinctly reserves for kshatriyas, the power and position of sovereignty, as defined by by Aryan Tradition. As has been said the Brahmins did not, as many think, deliberately adopt caste and surround it with an intimate and elaborate system of defence for their own glory and profit, or that they themselves might lead lives of pleasure at the expense of their fellow men. No, they were actuated, not by a love of ease but by a high sense of obligation and duty and hence the reverence which they received for centuries and the faithfulness with which they observed, the stern theories of duties which the Brahmins worked out. It lasted because, it had its roots in the nature of things and not in the selfishness of an individual or a class. Their strict personal discipline was intended to prevent them from being debased by admixture with inferior races in whom the lower sexual and brutal nature predominated. This was the aim of all the Aryan social institutions. The Brahmins being the ablest, most cultured, with a high morality and a lofty devotion to their sacred duties, both the social and religious supremacy naturally fell to their share.

VI

During the period of active Aryan expansion it cannot be expected that there would be many social changes being brought about in the society and as has already been said, there is good reason to believe that in the Rigvedic times, the priesthood and nobility were hereditary. This view receives support from the fact that among other Indo European communities, similar class distinctions are found, such as the Patrician gentes in Rome, the Eupatride

of Athens, the Eorls of Anglo Saxons and the still closer parallell of the Iranian classes of Atharias and Rathæthas, *i. e.* priests and warriors. But during the subsequent period. there comes into existence a new factor, the introduction of divisions, among the ordinary freemen, the Vaisyas and the development of a large and complicated system of caste, which converts the simple distinction of vaisyas and sudra into an ever increasing number of endogomous hereditary groups practising one occupation or other or at least restricted to a small number of occupations. The result was certainly far from being reached in the period of Brahmanas, but the tendency of social and racial distinctions to harden into castes is already apparent. In the Taittireya Brahmana, the Rathakaras (charriot-makers) appear as a special class along with vaisyas and in this special position, we can see how the chariot-makers, the type of skilled workers in the Rigveda have through their devotion to the machanical art, lost status as compared with the ordinary freeman. The influence of aborigines must have also been strong as inter-marriage is prohibited. To be born of a female sudra slave was a disgrace with which Kavasha and Vatsa were taunted by their priestly contemporaries. Contact with aborigines seems to have raised questions of the purity of blood. In the Rigveda restrictions on inter-marriage seem to be of simplest kind confined to rules prohibiting marriage between brother and sister and father and dughter. Even in the sutra period, the rules are not quite rigid, but they insist, that there should be no marriage with agnates or cognates and that one must marry in his own caste or if outside, into the next two. The Brahmana period presents us with a stage intermediate between the rules of the Sutra and the laxity of the Rigveda. By the time of Sathapatha Brahmana, the rule as to the prohibition of marriage with agnates and cognates seems to have been extended with relations of third and even fourth degrees. In the Brahmanas similarly, while we have no reason to doubt that priesthood and nobility were hereditary, these castes seem to have been free to inter-marry with the lower castes, including sudra, as the cases of Kavasha and Vatsa indicate. There is an instance of the marrige of a brahmin with the daughter of a kshatriya king.

VII

How far change of caste prevailed is a difficult question and the evidence seems to be very scanty. In the Rigveda, Viswamitra is a priest, purohit of king Sudas but in the Panchavimsa and Aitareya Brahmana, he is treated as a royal descendant of the family of Janbus. The Pancha Vimsa Brāhmaṇa speaks of certain persons as Royal seers and the later tradition preserved in the Anukramanika or index to the composers of Rigveda, ascribes hymns to such royal

seers in some cases without any real foundation. Yaska mentions the case of prince Devapi as performing sacrifices for his brother Santanu, the king but the passage in the Rigveda does not support such a theory. Again in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, king Viśwamitra performed sacrifices without priests. In the Panchavimsa Brahmana, some kings are mentioned as having been great performers of sacrifices, which may mean no more than that they were mere patrons of the sacrifice. We come near contact with fact on the concurrent stories of Upanishads which show that kings like Janaka of Videha, Aswapati king of Kekayas in the Punjab, Ajatasatru of Kasi and Pravahana Javali of Panchala disputing with and instructing brahmins in the lore of the brahmin—the unity which is the reality of the world. Very possibly, this attribution may be due to considerations of the advantage of conciliating the kings who were the patrons of the new philosophy. There is no reason to deny that kings could and did take interest in intellectual movements and we cannot, from such facts, infer that there was any possibility of interchange of caste. We cannot say that if a king becomes a seer, as the Jayamuniya Upanishad asserts in one case, it really meant that he was regarded as ceasing to belong to the kingly caste more than we can say that if a priest becomes a king, as was not unknown later at least, he thereby suffered any loss of his priestly position. Only one case of interest remains, that is, the case of Satyakama Jābala who was accepted as a priest by another distinguished priest because he showed promise, although, all, he could tell of his ancestry was that he was the son of slave girl but evidently his father might have been a brahmin and the case is only of value as negating the idea of an unnatural rigidity of institutions in the vedic age. What is more significant is that there is no instance of Vaisya becoming or being raised to the rank, of a priest or a prince in the Rigvedic texts. The two upper hereditary classes might to some degree permit closer relations but they seem to have regarded the foreigner as definitely beneath them. In a passage in the Aitareya Brahmana, we have an indication of the relations existing between the four great castes from the point of view of the Brahmin himself. The kshatriya is taken as the norm and the other castes are defined according to the relations they bear towards him, thus clearly showing that at that time, the kshatriya caste was regarded as high and supreme. The Brahmin is described therein as the receiver of gifts, drinker of soma and seeker of food liable to be removed at will. This sums up the inferior position held by a Brahmin, a statement made by the Brahmin himself with regard to his status during the period of Brahmanās. In this period, we notice two distinct divisions among Brahmins, the priests who, as purohitas of the king or belonging to his entourage, took part in the vast sacrifices, some of them lasting a year, which

they offered for their masters and the priests of the village, who lived a more humble and restricted existence, who might be called up to officiate at the sacrifice instituted by some rich noble or merchant. In both cases, the priest was in the long run at the mercy of the political power of the king. How in subsequent ages the Brahmin gained higher status and the Kshatriya came next will be discussed later on. Further, we see that it is during this period of the Brahmanas that among the Vaisyas—the commonality—distinctions were growing up and Vaisyas, who were till then the tillers of the soil were becoming merchants and traders and the Sudras were becoming the tillers of the soil and the industrial workers such as tanners, blacksmiths, carpenters, chariot-makers, were sinking in estimation and forming distinct castes of their own.

VIII

In the Rigvedic age, people were divided more into classes and not castes and each class was named after the work it had to perform. A Brahmana in this period simply meant any officiating priest who conducted the sacrificial ceremonies. Rajanya or Kshatriya meant the class which was concerned with the Government of the country. Vis was the name given to the generality of the people and hence the word Viswapati, the king. All these classes performed sacrifices to the Vedic gods and those who did not were called Dasyus and laterly they became Sudras, though belonging to the Aryan stock. The Yadus and the Turvasas were designated as Dasyus in R. V. X 62. as they seceded from the Vedic faith. Every vedic house-holder was a priest unto himself, and he used to perform his ordinary daily religious routine of lighting up the sacred fire, pouring oblations of "Havis" into it, along with his gr̥hapatni. But, on occasions of big sacrifices known as Sattras, expert Brahmin priests, well versed in Mantras and well acquainted with the detailed process of performing the sacrifices, were requisitioned and were remunerated by the food cooked on Dakshināgni and hence the fee of a priest came to be known as Dakshina, given either in the shape of a cow or coin. Gradually, these experts formed themselves into a class who spent their time, in learning mantras and reciting them properly and mastering the intricate process of performing yajnas, strictly in accordance with long-standing practices. Although the 4 castes were mentioned in the 10th Mandala of Rigveda, (X. 90.12) yet there was no exclusiveness and strictness in regard to eating, drinking and marriage. But towards the close of the Rigvedic period, when civilization became complex and when society was looked upon as a living organism, there was a distinct tendency to differentiation based on the performance of separate functions and gradually castes emerged and centred round the principal occupations of the people. It was simply a mere division of labour and the pursuit of a

particular occupation according to the individual bent of mind and aptitude. But even then, the Brahmins commanded the respect of all classes for their spiritual attainments and culture and their ability to propitiate Gods by sacrifices and mantras. When the Aryans emerged from the pastoral state into a settled agricultural condition and began to live in grāmas (villages) permanently, they required abundant produce for their crops which depended upon the abundant supply of rain. The Brahmin by means of propitiating the benevolent deities, such as Parjanya, the rain god, ensured a timely and regular rainfall so that they could cultivate the land and raise the crops and thus all classes rich and poor eagerly sought their help and in the early stages of Aryan evolution, they became indispensably necessary for the production of timely rain. They framed elaborate rules and formulæ for the performance of sacrifices with a view to propitiate Indra and other Vedic gods who could defeat the demon of Vṛtra (drought) who was considered to have confined all waters and prevented the regular rain-fall. It was thought that, by the performance of those periodical sacrifices, the Vedic Gods, Indra and others would be pleased and would bestow peace and plenty upon mankind. Consequently, the services of the Rishis were in great requisition and thus they became indispensable factors in the early Aryan society and then they became a class by themselves wielding great power and influence over the people. At first, these Brahmin Rishis were merely priests performing sacrifices and chanting mantras. Gradually, they became royal priests and councillors, because they could not only bring prosperity to the people by propitiating gods but also victories to the kings by their sacrifices and mantras. It was thus that the Brahmin priesthood came to establish its influence in early Aryan society. These Brahmin Rishis led the van of progress in the development of the Aryan state. They were the very brain of the Aryan nation. It is they that domesticated the cattle, that discovered the use of fire, that invented the plough, learnt and taught the art of agriculture, manufactured various kinds of implements, made chariots and waggons, discovered the intimate relations of the cosmic powers with human welfare, instituted fire worship and the various sacrifices calculated to promote human happiness, evolved the institution of marriage and established it on a sure and firm basis, discovered the existence of the various beneficent deities and differentiated their individual characteristics and brought them down as it were from their distant sphere, to exercise their benevolent influence on human affairs, discovered the unity in the one supreme deity permeating the Universe, the primordial source of creation, and lifted up human hopes and aspirations to the attainment of calm and everlasting 'Anandam' (Bliss and Beatitude). It was these great Rishis in those times that fused the disjointed and discordant elements into one homogeneous whole and

united the scattered grāmas into one confederacy under the leadership of a powerful clan who afterwards became Rājanah and guided them by their sage counsel to the attainment of success and prosperity. It was through their noble and selfless exertions that the heterogeneous elements have been combined into a homogeneous combination of the Panchajanah, five tribes, inhabiting the land of five rivers, speaking one language and performing the same sacrifices and believing in the same gods. These Brahmin Rishis realised the ultimate destiny of the Aryan nation and always worked and prayed for the well-being of the Pancha-janah, upon whom they based their hopes and aspirations for the realisation of their happy and glorious dream, namely, the evolution of the noble Aryan nation, full of life and vigour and a civilization unique in the world. These Aryan Brahmin Rishis, the master-minds of the age before whom kings and peasants, equally bowed their heads in solemn awe and reverence, had no axes to grind of their own and were utterly selfless. They had no ambition of exercising kingly power and political authority and enjoying material pleasures and the good things of the world. They were disinterested householders living with families upon the gifts voluntarily and respectfully offered by kings and peasants in return for the invaluable services rendered to them. In fact, they lived in perfect detachment from power and pelf and consequently they were looked upon with great veneration and reverence. Such, in short, is the evolution of the Brahmin Heirarchy in Rigvedic India.

So far, we have described the origin of the Brahmin Heirarchy during the ancient times. To sum up this portion of our theme, it had its rise in the land of Brahnavarta—the land of prayer where the Panchajanah, the five principal Aryan tribes, made their first settlements in the Punjab on the banks of Saraswati and Drishadvati, where the Rigvedic priests sang the Riks in praise of the powers of Nature and invoked their blessings and performed their sacrifices to Indra, Agni, Mitra and Varuna. Gradually with the increase of population and the growing complication of sacrificial rites and formulæ, fresh fields and pastures had to be found and for that purpose, a military class became necessary, while the priestly class came into existence so that it might exclusively devote itself to the spiritual needs of the nation. Such was the position during the Vedic times.

(To be continued.)

LITERATURE ON MUSIC 1

By M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI M. A.

Beginnings of Indian music :

In spite of the opinions of some orientalist in the West that Indian music must have had its origin from Greece, a careful examination of the Vedic rites and *śikshās* thereupon drives one to the irresistible conclusion that the origin of Indian music lay in certain rites where the priest and the performer chant some gathas alternately while the wife (*Yajamāni*) plays on *viṇā* and the closing of the sacrifice was enjoined with the conduct of a peculiar dance. The kind of *vina* mentioned for the above purpose is called *pichola* and in another place it is called *aulumbārī* (औलुम्बरी) that is made of *Udumbara* wood. The development of *svaras* can be traced to *sāma-veda* from those called *krushṭa* etc., while five kinds of *Gītīs* namely *Śuddhā*, *Bhinnā*, *Gaudī*, *Vesara* and *Sādhārāṇa* (शुद्ध, भिन्ना, गौडी, वेसर, साधारण) are directly descended from *prasvāra* (प्रस्वार), *Udgitha*, (उद्गीथ), *Pratihāra* (प्रतिहार), *Upadrava* (उपद्रव) and *Nidhāna* (निधान) *Sāmans* or strictly *Stobhas* in praise of gods uttered in different modulations of voice with different speeds. Bharata says:—गीतिः सामारव्या and Nānyadeva comments on it गीतिशब्देन पञ्चाङ्गं मुनिना कथितम्। पञ्चविधा सामरूपा लोके शुद्ध भिन्ना च गौडी च वेसरा साधारणा चेति नामभिः प्रस्वारोद्गीथप्रतीहारोपद्रवनिधानरूपानां साम्नां न भिद्यन्ते।

These five kinds were improved later on and they gave scope to the development of *rāgās* in music proper. Even in the Vedic age *Mardala* the chief instrument of percussion appears to have been invented by *svāti*. Of course *mrṅgā*, *paṇava* and *dardura* came after the *stobha* period. Later on when Bharata at the instance of Brahma introduced *Nāṭyasāstra*, music and its instruments became necessary accompaniments to stage. Nandikeśvara or Taṇḍu originated dancing proper in a subtle variety not as an auxiliary to, *Nāṭyasāstra*, that is, dramatic art and on the other hand subordinated music to *ṛtta*

1. This article was written for the All India Musical Conference held at Madras recently. The intention of the writer was to convey an aerial view of the musical literature now extant in Sanskrit in half an hour's reading.

(dance proper) and even Nāṭya, drama proper. Thus under Bharata and Nandin music became subservient to two sister sciences.

The development of music as a principal science can be traced to the *stobhas* in *sāman* chants and later on to the *pāṇch-rātra* and *śaivāgama* rites till the royal courts gave it a new turn entirely. Matanga appears to be one of the earliest authors who treated music as an independent science irrespective of its use to *nṛtta* or *nṛtīya*.

Music or *saṅgīta* proper treats of the origin of *Nāda* (नाद), definition and enumeration of *śritis* (श्रुति), the nature of *svaras* *grāmas* (ग्राम) *mūrchanas* (मूर्चना), *tānas* (ताना), *jātis*, *rāgas* in one or two sections *prabandhas* (प्रबन्ध) and *Vāḍya* in separate sections which includes *Vīṇā*, *Vamśa* (flute), and *tāla* and *mṛdanga*. Thus a treatise on music proper should treat of these sections at length. For convenience sake I use the word *Gāndharva* (गान्धर्व) for all the three sciences together (संगीत, नृत्त, and नाट्य) music, dancing and drama. A passing notice of its treatment in chronological order is proposed in the following pages,

Three epochs:

Musical literature may be divided into three epochs chronologically if not according to development. The first is the Vedic age when music was completely subservient to vedic rites. The second may be called mediæval epoch when music was handled by great sages and scholars either as a principal or an auxiliary science and art. This period roughly extends from the 5th century B. C. to 1600 A. D. The last epoch is modern when the old technique was abandoned and the system of teaching both of theory and practice has undergone complete change. This period roughly commences from 1600 A. D. or a few decades earlier when the mnemonic scale of 72 *melakartas* replaced the cumbrous but logical divisions of ancient system and when the foreign influence and the easy going-sort of study affected both the theory and practice. This epoch closes with the introduction of fiddle and harmonium which driving out *Vīṇā* bestow upon the student a certificate of proficiency in a few month's training. This is of course our own epoch upon which I had better be silent.

Now, with regard to the literature of the first epoch Brahma as in the case of every other science seems to be the originator and the first voluminous writer on *Gāndharva*: for *Gandharva-veda* which treats of संगीत, नृत्त and नाट्य forms one of the *upavedas*. Its extent

and contents are available and the work itself has probably been obtained, at least a part, by the University of the Punjab. Its contents are:—

गान्धर्ववेदः षट्षिंशत्सहस्रग्रन्थमस्ति । यत् सप्तसरोत्पत्ति कथनं परिकीर्त्यते ॥
 वीणातन्त्रं कलातन्त्रं रागतन्त्रमनुत्तमम् । मिश्रतन्त्रं तालतन्त्रं गीतिकातन्त्रमेव च ॥
 लासिकोल्लासिकातन्त्रं मेलतन्त्रं महत्तरम् । जातिग्रहलयस्थानं मार्गाङ्गप्रक्रियाक्रिया ॥
 कालज्ञानं वाद्यवल्ली त्रिभिन्नाध्याय एव च । तुङ्गरतिवारङ्ग सिंहलीलाविजृम्भणम् ॥
 अङ्गहारप्रविक्षेपाध्यायः संक्षोभणक्रिया । एवमादीनि गान्धर्ववेदे सन्ति सहस्रशः ॥

A summary of the four *upavedas* by one tenth of the original extent was produced by *Vyāsa*. Unhappily the portion of *Ayurveda* alone which is also one of the *Upavedas* is available. *Sadāsiva* and *Gauri* seem to have written large works on *gāndharva*, but a fragment on histrionics alone is found in Mysore Library. *Tumburu*, chief associate of *Nārada* produced a work on *Grandharva*, the last portion dealing with *stobha* songs and *Dhruvas* in *Prakrit* is now available and the last verse in *Prakrit* indicates that he wrote under a *Sāta* king if my sanskrit rendering is correct.*

* *Kāśyapa* and *Viśākhila* appear to be voluminous writers whose works were extant till the 15th century A. D. The former appears to be a specialist on *rāgās* and their uses (*vinīyoga*) while the latter was an authority on *svaras*, *vīṇā* and *vamśa* (flute). *Abhinavagupta* and *Nānyadeva* each quotes about 200 verses from *Kāśyapa's* work, the disappearance of which is really deplorable. That both of them were prior to *Bharata* is evident by the words of *Tikākāra* and *Abhinavagupta* who commented upon the *Nāṭyasāstra*. 'गदतो मे' इत्यनादरे षष्ठी । तेन महत्तममेवात्र ने केवलं प्रमाणं यावत्कश्यपमुनिप्रभृतिभिरपि यन्निरूपितं तदपीति शिवम्—*Abhinavagupta* XXVIII—160.

द्वे वृत्ती समेत्या च त्रिलेखा इत्यादिकं विशारद्विलाचार्यैरुक्तं सर्वथैव ध्रुवागान-
 ज्ञानवैकल्योपयोगान्मया नोक्तमिति सूचयति (मुनिः) — *Abhinavagupta* XXIX—116.
Bhavabhūti in his commentary on *Kumārila's Śloka-vārtika* refers to *Viśākhila*.

* जइ पडइ साअळाआ गंधव्वकुलज (एण) तुंबुरुणा ।

सरदविणोदेण किदं नाडअगेअस्स लखणं एदं ॥

यदि पठति शातराजा गन्धर्वकुल (जेन) तुम्बुरुणा ।

शरद्विनोदेन कृतं नाटकेयस्य लक्षणमेतत् ॥

Five Bharatas along with their master are mentioned as to have received inspiration from Brahma to spread *Gān tharva*, among whom Vriddhabharata wrote a work consisting of 12000 Grandhas a part of which is now available while the younger known as Bharata or *muni* produced *Nāṭyaśāstra* in 6000 Slokas, in which music proper is dealt with in 5 chapters, 28 to 34 excluding the 32nd and 33rd. Here the sage treats of the subject of music as entirely subsidiary to Dhruvāgāna ^{ध्रुवागान} used in *Nāṭya* or stage. He rejected *Gāndhāra grāma*¹ as unfit for the stage and omitted all details of *ragas* and their names; but gave out general principles for adaptation of *ragas* for the production of various *rasas*. *Rasa* is the sole aim in *nāṭya* and everything else is subservient to it. Music is useful according to Abhinavagupta in Dhruvāgāna alone and in *nūvaranga*.

It is not known who the other three Bharatas are. Kohala, Dattila, and probably Kāśyapa may be guessed to form the number. The first of the three even according to Bharata's words improved

1. गान्धारग्रामश्च भर्तेनालौकिकत्वात् नोपदर्शितः । अस्माभिश्चागमानुसारेण पदर्शितः ।

Abhinavagupta.

Kasyapa himself draws a line of distinction in the use of *svaras* and *srutis* between the vedic and laukic use, that is, in singing. Abhinava in commenting on the epithet *ekasrutitva* in Bharata's definition of the word *sadharana* says:—

सर्वेषां स्वराणामुच्चनीचत्वकृतोक्तिविशेषात्केवलं गान्धर्वं दृष्टसिद्ध्यै एकश्रुतित्वं
स्वराणां दर्शितम् । वैचित्र्यं तु गगमापादौ लक्ष्ये दृश्यत एव । तथा च वृद्धकाश्यपः—

काकल्यन्तरयोगेन चतुस्त्रिव्येकतः श्रुतीन् ।

स्वरान्सर्वान्प्रयुज्जीत रागभाषासु सर्वथा ॥

स्वराः षड्जादयः सप्त तथाचोक्तृष्टपञ्चमः ।

अथ धैवततश्चान्यः काकल्यन्तरसंज्ञकौ ॥

षड्जमध्यमगान्धाराश्चत्वार इति सर्वथा ।

जातिष्वेते प्रयोक्तव्याः स्वराः पञ्चदशैव तु ॥

Here Vriddha-kāśyapa perhaps means the propounder of Kasyapa's school. Similar use of Bharata-vriddha meaning our Bharata is found in Bhāva-prakasa:—

तथा भरतवृद्धेन कथितं गद्यमीदृशम् (II-91)

Kasyapa is the mainstay for the *rāgādhyāya* of Nānyadeva, who follows in the determination of the number of *tānas* Visākhila who strikes a medium between *vaidika* and *laukika* uses, maintained by Nārada and Bharata respectively.

सामगाने प्रयुज्यन्ते ताना यज्ञोपयोगिनः ।

गीतोपयोगिन्स्ताना भरतेनोपदर्शिताः ॥

(Nanyaclāva IV.)

upon Bharata's work in all details. (Vide Nāṭyaśāstra ch: 37.) Kohala's Sangitāmeru is not available except the chapters on tāla and abhinaya. Dattila is a specialist on music and is authoritative on chapters on *dhruvās* and *tālas* besides *śruti* and *svara*. It is called Gāndharvavedasāra and it is now available. Commentaries on Dattila's work were known to exist till 1500 A.D. In Tamil Odayārku-nallār, the commentator on Silappadhikāram frequently alludes to Panchabhāratiya, probably an epitome of the works of five Bharatas. Śāradātanaya testifies in his Bhāvaprakāśa to the existence of five Bharatas.

नाख्यवेदप्रयोक्तारं भारतीसहितो ऽस्मरत् ।

स्मृतमात्रे मुनिः कश्चिद्विशिष्यैः पञ्चभिरन्वितः

Nārada's *śikshā* and Panchamasārasamhitā exist now. The latter has not come to my notice. Śikshā has several commentaries the best seems to be by Śubhamkara. Nārada was quoted by Bharata in Nāṭya Śāstra in chapter 34. Mr. Popley is evidently wrong in driving it to the 12th century while even commentaries on it are quoted by both Abhinavagupta and Nānyadeva. Śikshā is a vedic work and subordinates music to *sāma gītas* in the vedic rites. Regarding Nārada's enumeration of the three *grāmas* Abhinavagupta remarks:—

सामवेदे ग्रामविभागाभावात् तदुपयोगिन्यां नारदीयशिक्षायां तदभिधानमौत्तराधर्ममात्रमेव ।

Matanga, the last of the sages is the author of Brihaddeśī (बृहद्देशी) a portion of which about 2500 slokas is now available to us and being printed in Trivandrum. Its age cannot be easily determined. He quotes from Bharata, Kohala, Dattila and an unknown author called Chatura, probably a writer on medicine. From a quotation given by Kallinātha, an inference may be drawn that Matanga lived later than Rudraṭa, probably patronised by the Pallava king, Mahendravarikrama. The available portion of Brihaddeśī nowhere mentions Rudraṭa. Matanga may be assigned to 300 A. D. An old Tamil work Silappadhikāram mentions Matanga and his theory.

Brihaddeśī is a great work on music proper and treats every question in a śāstric manner. He gives out all the possible *Pūrva-pakshas* criticises every one of them and finally establishes his own *siddhānta*. For example the origin of *śrutis* is discussed from the standpoint of Sāṅkhyas as *satkāryavāda*, (सत्कार्यवाद), of the Vaisesika's of *Parināmavāda* (परिणामवाद), of the Advaitins of *vivartavāda* (विवर्तवाद), of Mimamsakas of *Utpattivāda* (उत्पत्तिवाद) and of Abhivyaaktivāda. I quote the original:—

इदानीं श्रुतीनां तादात्म्यादिविकल्पः कथ्यते—

तादात्म्यं च विवर्तं च कार्यत्वं परिणामिता ।

अभिव्यञ्जकता चापि श्रुतीनां परिकथ्यते ॥

The author finally inclines to either *pariṇāma* or *Abhivyakti*:—

परिणामे ऽभिव्यक्तिस्तु न्याय्यः पक्षः सतां मतः ।

Such discussions recollect to our mind *Vākyapādiya* and *Sloka-vārtika* and evidently presupposes a number of schools on music. *Matanga* originated what is called *dvādaśa-svara-murchanā* which came into disuse soon after him. None of the great writers welcomed it. *Kumbhakarna* says in sneering at it,

अत्र या मूर्च्छनाः प्राह द्वादशस्वरसमवाः ।

मतङ्गस्य मतं नैवं सुन्दरं प्रतिभाति मे ॥

अत्रैव कोहलाचार्यो नन्दिकेश्वर एव च ।

मतङ्गमनुसृत्यैवोचतुस्तदिह वर्ण्यते ॥

and points out that *dvādaśa-svara-murchanā* fails in *Nandayanti-jāti* which requires 15 svaras; but the novelty of *Matanga* is useful only in *Kūtātānas*. Here *Kumbhakarna* fails in the grasp of chronology. *Matanga* himself quotes from *Kohala* and *Nandin* in support of his theory while *Kumbhakarna* thinks that they followed him¹. *Matanga* treats in extenso of *deśirāgas*. His chapter on *Nrtya* is not available. *Kumbhakarna* notices that portion:—

सप्तैते हस्तकाः सन्ति बृहदेशीविदां मते ।

His chapter on prosody relating to music was referred to by *Someśvara* in *Mānasollāsa*. *Matanga* unlike great masters like *Bharata*, *Kohala* and *Dattila* has his human faults. His *nivāsa* or application of *rāgas* on flute was not followed by writers of repute. But *Matanga*'s work is elaborate and instructive everywhere.

Nandin or *Tandu* is the author of *Nandīśvarasamhitā*, probably the largest work on *Gāndharva* comprising of all the three branches. On examination of all the works on music and *Nāṭya* it seems that there were two distinct schools even in early days. *Nandin* is the propounder of one which may be identified as *śaiva* and *āgamic*. He enters into great details in every section and on every topic. His

1. *Matanga* says नन्दिकेश्वरेणाप्युक्तं—

द्वादशस्वरसंपन्नः । ज्ञातव्याम् । छान्नावुधैः । जातिभाषादिभिश्चार्थं तारमन्द्रादिसिद्धये ॥

samhitā was available till 1620 when Raghunātha of Tanjore borrowed from it. He says :—

समीक्ष्य नन्दीश्वरमंहितां तामालोच्य शास्त्रं भरतप्रणीतम् ।

उमापतेराधुनिकस्य तन्त्रं विलोक्य नन्दीशमतानुसारि ।

But Nandin's work is now extinct except a chapter on his-
trionics. Umāpati's work referred to by Raghunātha is now extant
in 40 chapters, where every topic of *gāndharva* is dealt with. The
author probably of the 14th century A. D. gives out only a catalogue
of technical terms in great detail. In this work *śrutis* are 137, *svaras*
are thousands, *grāmas* 18, *śuddharāgas* 68, *sālagas* 69, and
enumerates 101 *tālas* besides those found in *Śivarātra*, one of the five
pāncharātra cults. But time has made the other school survive and
thrive under the great masters like Bharata, Kohala, Dattila and
Matanga. In the other school also there are differences of minor
nature as 66 *śrutis* in Kohala. In *Gitāṅkara* of a different
Bharata the names of *śrutis*, *grāmas* &c. also differ. The text runs :—

यो ग्रामः श्रुतिविज्ञेयस्तस्य भेदास्त्रयः स्मृताः ।

नन्दावर्तोऽथ जीमूतो सुभद्रस्तु तृतीयकः ॥

षड्जर्षभगान्धारास्त्रयाणां जन्महेतवः ।

नन्दावर्तो भवेत् षड्जोज्जीमूतो ऋषभः क्रमात् ॥

षड्जमादौ समुच्चार्य ततो धैवतपञ्चमौ ।

वृद्ध्यर्थं योजयेत्तत्र निषादेन समं नयेत् ॥

नन्दावर्तो भवेदेवं ग्रामो गीतिविदां प्रियः ॥ &c. &c.

The only other work which uses this nomenclature is
Sangīta-chandrikā written by Mādhava, a resident of Benares, who
lived about 1300 A. D. Raghunātha refers to him :—

निशम्य संगीतकचन्द्रिकारव्यां कृतिं च भट्टादिममाधवस्य ।

This Madhava appears to be a great critical writer who used
vīṇa containing 22 frets and has given *svara*-lengths of each in an
intelligent manner.

Various purāṇas, āgamas and tantras are devoted for *Gān-*
dharva. *Vāyupurāṇa* devotes a chapter to pure music. *Srī-Samhitā*
is referred to by Abhinavagupta to treat of *Gāndharva* at length.
Regarding tantras of Śaiva, *Pāncharātra*, *Śākṭeya* and *Yāmala*, only a
portion of *Uddīśatantra* is available, which has 18 chapters on 18
kinds of musical instruments and it perhaps dealt with whole science.
Yāmala tantras are 32 in number and several of them of unusual size
are devoted to *Gāndharva*. These works were once available in Benares
in the library of Kavindrāchārya Sarasvati and the 32nd Tantra is
now extant which gives in 8000 verses contents of all the then known

works in Sanskrit. According to it the 19th of the Yāmala tantras, called Viṇātānta is an elaborate work on Gandharva.

एकोनविंशं वीणारव्यतन्त्रं लक्षप्रमाणकम् ।
 नादब्रह्मानन्दसिद्धिर्येन सिध्यति वै नृणाम् ॥
 निषादादिस्वरोत्पत्तिर्गीतोत्पत्तेर्हि लक्षणम् ।
 रागाणां भेदकथनं रागकालानुकीर्तनम् ॥
 ध्वनिप्रभेदकथनं मिश्रामिश्राववर्हणम् ।
 तालश्रुतिलयादीनामुद्भवस्योपवर्णनम् ॥
 चतुर्विधानां वीणानां लक्षणं तन्त्रिलक्षम् च ।
 फिन्नरस्वरयन्त्रादिलक्षणं मेललक्षणम् ॥
 षड्गीतादिप्रकथनमुत्पत्तिस्थानवर्णनम् ।
 एवमादीनि कीर्त्यन्ते यस्मिन् तन्त्रे सहस्रशः ॥

18th Kundiśvara-tantra treats of Nāṭya and Vādyā and the 28th Trotāla Tantra treats of the following:—

लोतालनामकं तन्त्रमष्टाविंशं सलक्षकम् ।
 यस्मिन् भरतसर्वस्वं साक्षाच्छ्रवमुखोद्भूतम् ॥
 लक्षणं तालभेदानामर्जुलोन्मानलक्षणम् ।
 मार्गक्रियाङ्गजातीनां तद्भेदानां च लक्षणम् ॥
 वैयाकानामैशानां वाग्मवानां च लक्षणम् ।
 अन्येषां तालकोटीनां शिवागमभुवां तथा ॥
 विधा त्रिभिन्नलीलानां यस्मिन् तन्त्रे प्रकीर्त्यते ॥

Existence of these extensive works cannot be doubted when the actual works of a few topics extend over thousands of granthas. Kumbhakarna's sangītarāja is of 16000 slokas while Nānyadeva's Sarasvatīhrdayālankāra is of at least 10000 granthas which are extant. These Yāmala tantras are in Kavindra's list, which is not a product of imagination. 32nd Yāmala tantra from which we extracted the above quotations was itself an ornament of his library.

Kīrtidhara, a writer of great celebrity, belongs to this prehistoric age. His work has not come down to us. He is ranked by Śārṅgadeva as one of the commentators on Nāṭyaśāstra. The extract quoted by Kallinātha purported to be of Kohala contains this author's name:—

एकस्याकुञ्चितो मुष्टिः खटकास्योऽञ्चितः परः ।
 इति कीर्तिधरस्त्वाह मुष्टिकस्वस्तिकौ करो ॥

At any rate he is mentioned with honour by Abhinavas Nānyadeva and Kumbhakarna. Abhinava who never commits to writing except what he saw or discussed with his gurus says that he follows Kirtidhara on faith:—

यत्तु कीर्तिधरेण नन्दिकेश्वरमतागमित्वेन दक्षितं तदस्माभिः साक्षान्न दृष्टम् ।
तत्प्रत्ययात् लिख्यते संक्षेपतः (Abhinavabhārati XXIX-118)

Kirtidhara perhaps wrote a *vārtika* on Nāṭyaśāstra but it was considered as a *bhāṣya*. Kumbhakarna says that he studied four *bhāṣyas* on Bharata which may include Kirtidhara's Vārtika. He is quoted as a specialist on flute, lute and tāla. He seems to have recognised nine vamsas (flutes).

Kumbha says:—

स्थानत्रयस्य निष्पत्त्यै केचित् कीर्तिधरादयः ।
नवैवात्र जगुर्वेशान् व्यवस्थातस्तथोच्यते ॥
आदित्यो विश्वमूर्तिश्च मन्द्रस्वरविधायको ।
नाथेन्द्रश्च महानन्दो रुद्रवंश इति त्रयः ॥
मध्यस्वरविधातारस्तथा तारविधायकाः ।
षण्मुखो मुनिवंशश्च वसुवंश इति त्रयः ॥
सर्ववंशत्रयत्वेन त्रिस्थानस्वरसाधकः ।
वणलिङ्कारधात्वादिवाद्यमवेदनत्वतः ॥
नवमो मनुवंशश्च तन्मते प्रवरो मतः ।
एवं वंशा नवै वेतिव्यवस्थातः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

Mātṛgupta was another writer on music whose work has not come down to us. Extracts from his work were given by the late Raja of Venkatagiri in his *Mānasollāsa* only four decades ago at Madras which are not found in any of the works we have examined. But the work is now lost. The name of the work seems to be *Sangītakalpavalli* where the author everywhere seems to have diverged from the beaten tracks of the great sages.

Two more contemporary writers whose works though in existence have not reached my hands are the pioneers to reconcile theory and practice which were diverging since the introduction or strictly the recognition of Deśi-rāgas by Matanga. They are Yāśhtika and Ānjaneya. Abhinava mentions both of them in connection with Deśi-rāgas, the definition of which is quoted from the latter's work by Kallinātha (vide page 218). Raghunātha gives some details about these two authors where the latter is said to have learnt from the former how to reconcile theory and practice, and then introduced new

modes which are now generally followed in South India. The following quotation from Sangitasudha is of some interest.

कदाचिदागात्कदलीवनान्तमासेदिवान् याष्टिकमाञ्जनेयः ।
 संगीतविद्योपनिषद्ग्रहस्यमध्यापयन्तं धुरि दक्षमुख्यान् ।
 देशीयरोगेष्वपि च स्वरेषु श्रुतिष्वमूषामपि लक्षणेषु ।
 नानाविरोधानिह याष्टिकं तं ते दक्षमुख्यास्त्विति पर्यपृच्छन् ।
 सप्तस्वरा द्वादश वैकृता ये तेषां च नस्तः श्रुतयो न चान्याः ।
 पञ्चश्रुतिः पट्च्छ्रुति राहुरष्टौ देशीयरोगेष्वमूषमो बुधैस्तु ।
 अतो भवेच्छास्त्रविरोध एषां त्यागे तु तासां नहि राक्त्तिलाभः ।

We have thus dealt with semi-mythical age of musical development in which the works are unusually large and every topic of Gāndharva comprising three divisions namely Nāṭya, Nṛtya and music proper (both vocal and instrumental) was treated in extenso and the songsters devoting their attention to the practical side abandoned the theoretical studies and perfected themselves in one special branch. In course of time want of study compelled them to seek new paths current in different countries, which greatly differed from the methods of the great sages. Thus a sort of gulf was created between theory and practice of music. As time went on the gulf became wider and wider. The musical authors from the 10th century onwards, as far as we examined, profess to reconcile theory and practice and invent new forms of *vinā* to introduce new *desī*-methods. This went on till the 17th century. About the 16th century when the kingdoms of the *Chālukyas*, *Bhāllalas*, *Kakatiyas*, the *Reddis* and the *Velamas*, who one and all maintained musical courts and patronised histrionics passed away, the greatness of Vijayanagar especially Krishnaraya's reign entirely altered the old system of music in every branch namely *rāga*, *tāla*, *prabandha* etc. They were the pioneers to introduce the 72 *melakartas* and to increase frets on the *Vinās*. Since then the modern music especially of *Karnāṭa* kind received its full development at the hands of Raghunātha Naik of Tanjore and his son Vijayarāghava in 17th century and Mudalagiri of Madura and Rāyaraghunātha of Pudukotaah subsequently. The impetus given by those courts resulted in the forthcoming of great scholars famous for vocal singing and for playing on *Vinā* and flute.

Before this change was effected from about 1550 A. D. the ancient methods and the instruments survived. For a thorough survey of music and to trace its history and to find a number of fallacies in the modern theories of music and to gain perfect insight into the subject, the study of ancient works and their methods is absolutely necessary. I shall devote my next section for the treatment of such ancient works produced in the historic age.

(To be continued.)

THE PHULASARA COPPER-PLATE-GRANT OF KIRTIRAJA DEVA.

By SATYANARAYANA RAJAGURU.

1. This inscription was first read by my friend Pandit Gopabandhu Vidyabhushana, a teacher of the Rajah's Sanskrit College, Parlakimedi, and published in 'Vaisya Vani', a local monthly review of the Ganjam District. In the month of January 1928, I examined the rubbings of the plates, and read them carefully. As I found some slightly different readings and as the inscription is very important for the medieval period of the history of Kalinga in so far as it brings to light the chronology of a new branch of the E. Ganga Dynasty, I propose to discuss it in this paper. The inscription is important for linguistic studies also. In order that the readers may follow the discussion intelligently, I append the text of the inscription. Before dealing with the several points of interest contained in the inscription an account of how and where it is got is necessary for the elucidation of some points and I propose to begin with it.

2. In December 1927, a resident of Phulasarâ, a village in Athagaḍa Taluk, Ganjam District, while digging for the foundation of a kitchen-room of the old Svapnêśvara Temple of 'Deula-Peḍi' (ie, Box of Pegoda), a village near Phulasarâ, discovered a pot containing two sets of Copper-plates. He preserved them in the temple of Chandraśekhara of Phulasarâ, his own village. At present the plates are kept in the same temple, as the owner, S. J. Madhava Patro, never allows them to be removed from that sacred place.

3. Among the two sets, one contains the grant made by Kirttirâja of Gangâ family while the other records a grant by Nêṭṭbhanja of Bhanja family. No date is mentioned in any of them.

4. The first set contains 3 Copper-plates; their dimensions are about $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}'' \times \frac{1}{16}''$. The first plate is inscribed on one side only. The two ends of the ring are soldered into the lower portion of a circular seal on which is fixed an image of the bull, Nandi couchant, measuring about $2'' \times 1''$. Round the Nandi, there are on the surface of the disc, the figures of Conchshell, Chowrie etc., generally seen on the seals of other plates belonging to the Ganga kings of Kalinga. The inscription consists of 35 lines.

5. The alphabet employed belongs to the old Nâgarî type and the characters are similar to those that were used in the plates of Bhanja-Kings of Southern Orissa, discovered in the Northern parts of Ganjam District.

6. On Orthographical grounds the following points are noteworthy:—

(a) No distinction is observed between 'sa', 'sha' and 'śa' (L. 2, 10, 11, 15, 19, 20).

(b) Instead of 'na', 'na' is used in two places (L. 16, 17).

(c) There are little differences between 'w' and 'ḍa'; 'śa' and 'na'; 'pa' and 'ya' and 'va' and 'cha' (L. 18, 5; 1, 2; 2, 2; 2, 3.)

(d) There is no distinction between 'va' and 'ba'.

(e) In some places the 'i' symbol on a consonant can be hardly distinguished from the 'e' symbol, except with reference to the context.

(f) In one place 'Anusvāra' is used for 'na' (L. 4.)

7. The language of the inscription is, throughout, 'sanskrit'; but 'prakrit' words that are in use in the surrounding country are freely used. There are eight ślokaś in 'Anushtubh' and one in 'Sragddharā'. The rest is prose.

8. On linguistic grounds the following points are interesting especially, to the Philologists:—

(a) The word 'Mahâpt' is a very peculiar one. I do not find the word in any of the Sanskrit dictionaries. But from the context it is quite apparent that the word may be a synonym for a woman. In Oriya Vocabulary the word 'Mâhipi' or 'Mâipi' is used, and gives the same meaning as I presumed above. Therefore it can be inferred, that the word 'Mâhipi' or 'Mâipi' of Oriya Vocabularies is a later form of the word 'Mahâpt'.

(b) In the third line of the inscription, the word 'Bānatyya' is used. It is presumably a mistake for 'Bānapti' which is the name of a King. In this word we find a symbolic-contraction, which has been used in Orissa from the earliest times. The symbol 'Pti' is nothing but a simple modification of the symbols 'Pa+ti'. The palæographers of Orissa might have observed similar uses of contraction in various slab-inscriptions of Kapiḷendra and Purushōttama Gajapati of Puri (15th century A.D.)

(c) In the lines 23, 24 and 25, the words 'rupyākha', 'Ruākha', 'Rupyā' and 'Ruā' are respectively used, which denote a certain silver coin. 'Ruā' is, probably, derived from 'Raupya' of Sanskrit, and subsequently changed into 'Rupā' which means silver in Oriya. 'Kha' might be a contraction of 'khaṇḍa' ie, a piece and since at one time there were simple pieces of metal used as coin it might have been added to 'Rupyā' or 'Ruā' thus forming the two words 'Rupyākha' both of which therefore mean a silver-coin.

(d) 'Jagajhampa' is another interesting word, which is mentioned in the 8th line of the inscription. Like 'jagadaḷā' and 'jagamōhana' in Oriya Vocabularies, the word 'jaga-jhampa' is used with reference to a certain musical-instrument. I think, this 'jaga-

jhampa' is nothing but the present 'jhāmja', (ie) Cymbals, now in use in Orissa and other parts of our country.

(e) I do not understand the meaning of 'Vyavahané'. But, however, it can be inferred from its context that the word is practically used in the sense of "in the presence of." It might then be a corrupted form of 'Vyavaharané' which word in the form of 'Vyavahāra' is now used in Oriya in the sense of "in the presence of".

(f) Lastly the word "Māgha-ba-di" (L. 26) is a little mysterious. Though it is written in a way which could be mistaken as one word, it is not one word. From a knowledge of the Hindū calendars or 'Panchan-gas' we can see that 'Māgha' with 'ba' and 'di' can be taken as Māgha + ba (Vahula) + di (dina) ie: the day of the dark fortnight of the month 'Māgha'.

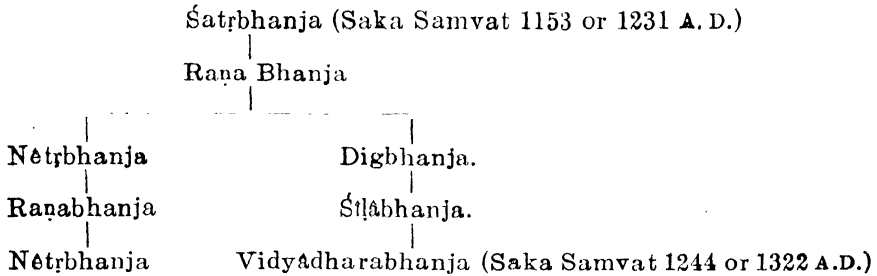
9. *The grant*:—This inscription records a grant of a village known as 'Khīnvêḍa', made by Kirttirāja (ii), in the fifth year of his reign, and on the fifth day of dark fortnight in the lunar-month of 'Magha'. The village was granted in the district of 'Varttini'. The present village 'kharidā' in the Athagada estate could be identified with Khīnvêḍa of the grant. Thus the 'Varttini-Vishaya' of the grant might form part of the present Athagada estate, and comprise a portion of the adjacent Sōreḍa Taluk, as the village mentioned is near to that Taluk.

10. The donee was Bāpanna, who belonged to the 'Visvāmitra-gōtra', 'Ayurvêḍa', 'Tryaṣaya pravara' and 'Pañcharṣeya-anupravara'; and who came from 'Gangā Vāḍi'. He was the son of Guhēsvara and grand-son of 'Santōṣakara'. The mention of Gangā Vāḍi in this inscription, as the place, from which the donee came, might throw some light on the original home of the Gangā family. We can see from inscriptions of kings of other dynasties, that they brought people from their native land and provided for them in their dominions. The Gangā Kings of Kalinga (there is no reason to suppose otherwise) formed no exception. We might therefore reasonably suppose that the part of the country from which the donee, Bāpanna, came was the original home of the Gangā family. It is well known from the history of Mysore that Gangā Vāḍi did not exist under that name even in the latter half of the eleventh century A.D. And since this inscription which mentions it belongs to a later period, as can be seen from the next paragraph it is impossible for Gangāvāḍi in Mysore to be the original home of the Gangās of Kalinga.

11. In the plate itself, the year of the grant is not mentioned in any Era. There is simply a mention of the regnal year of the donor and the month and the day on which the grant is made. It is therefore difficult to fix the date. But however the difficulty can be got over and the date fixed by a quite different and reasonable process.

In the second and third paragraphs of this paper, I wrote about the discovery of two sets of Copper-plates, preserved in a single

pot, containing grants made by Kirttirāja and Nêṭrbhanja Dêva of Ganga and Bhanja lines respectively. There is one point of great interest in the second grant. It is this: the donee in the grant of Nêṭrbhanja Dêva is also Bāpanna, the son of Guhêsvara and grandson of Santôshakara. This fact gives us a clue to the determination of the date of the grant. A glance at the following geneological table of the Bhanja Dynasty of Orissa tells us as to when Nêṭrbhanja existed:—



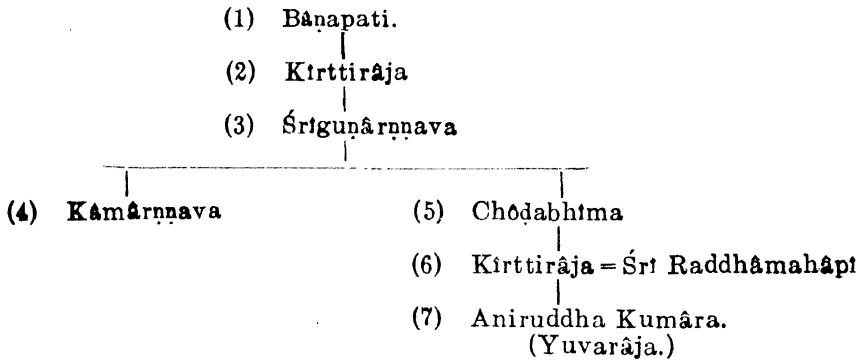
This table is obtained after a detailed examination of about six Copper-plate grants of the Bhanja Kings. It shows that both Nêṭrbhanja II and Vidyādharaḥhanja were ruling about 1322 A. D. or Śaka 1244. Hence it is evident that Kirttirāja, the donee of whose grant is the same as the donee in the grant of Nêṭrbhanja Dêva, must be ruling in Kalinga about Śaka 1244. Though the year of the grant cannot be made out, yet it is plain that Kirttirāja existed about the middle of the 13th Śaka Śatabda.

12. There are some other points of interest in this inscription which deserve to be pointed out. Kalyāṇa is mentioned as the capital of this King of the Gangā dynasty, and in enumerating the people who are called upon to hear this grant there is the expression "Rāshṭrakūṭa pramukha samasta nivāsinô janapadân". The word 'Rāshṭrakūṭa' is also interesting. That 'Kalyāṇapura' must be a town located in some part of the Ganjam District, or in some neighbouring parts to the west or to the north goes without saying. But the word 'Rāshṭrakūṭa' raises very interesting problems considering the fact that it is mentioned in the plates of Bhanja Kings, and also considering that 'Rāshṭrakūṭas' existed on the west-coast, ie, in the Bombay presidency. The word 'Yuvarāja-chhâyâ' is mentioned in this inscription. The word 'Chhâyâ' here requires some elucidation. In the 'Agrahârams' of this part of the country it is generally known that 'Kara' or Royal-Tax consists of two parts: (1) Bimba (2) Pratibimba. Pratibimba is said to be a tax on common grazing grounds, public pathways and some other things of a similar nature. Common grazing grounds and public pathways are also known as 'Chhaya Bhūmi'. Hence we have to interpret the word 'chhâyâ' as meaning a tax. The inscription also states, that 'Yuvarāja-Chhâyâ' is one and a half 'Rupyākhas'. This throws some light on the taxation in the country

and also on the administrative machinery. We can see that a portion of the tax in every village is utilised by the 'Yuvarāja', the holder of an office, instituted in every state to train the heir-apparent or another member of the Royal family in the art of Government.

There is another interesting fact which is, that $1\frac{1}{2}$ Rupyākha is equivalent to 1 Rupyākha and 2 Mā. This brings to our view another coin 'Mā' which is a fourth of 'Rupyākha' or 'Ruakha' in value. Thus we can see that the country possesses a graded 'Silver-coinage', which is a fact of considerable importance in the economic history of the country.

13. A good deal of new light is thrown on the history of the Gangā dynasty by the discovery of this grant. The names in the geneological list it contains are not to be met with in any other lists hitherto published. The names when arranged in the tabular form, run as follows:—



The names of the third and fourth kings are the same as the names of the ancestors of Anantavarmma Chōḍaganga Dēva of the so called later E. Gangā family. But, the other names are peculiar to this dynasty. The name Bānapati, which stands at the top of the table, requires some consideration. Mr. Vidyabhushana read it as Asvapati and stated in his paper that this is the Asvapati line, and tried to explain the attributes "Gāngādīpah" given in line 5, and "Gāngārupakulāvalamvanastambhah", in line 7, as indicating that this is the 'Asvapati' branch of the Gangā dynasty. But this is not a quite satisfactory supposition. The line is no doubt a part of the Gangā dynasty. Since the names in this list are not found in any of the lists of the Gangā dynasty continued from Anantavarmma Chōḍaganga Dēva of the 11th Śakā Śatābda, up to Bhānudeva of the 14th Śakā Śatābda, we have to place this dynasty as a collateral branch of the main Gangā dynasty known to us, since the earliest King Bānapati might have ruled in the first half of the 12th Śakāśatābda, as the donor of the grant under consideration belongs to the middle of the 13th Śakā Śatābda, and Bānapati is removed four generations from

him, There is nothing definite to show, that this branch is of the 'Ananta Varmma Chôdaganga-line'.

13. To determine the connection of this Gangâ line with the other Gangâ dynasty of Kalinga we will have to go back to the period from which some thing definite is known from the hitherto published records.

The reports of Hiwen-Tsiang, the distinguished Chinese traveller, prove authentically, that Kalinga Dêsa (ei: 'Kie-ling-kia' or 'Macco-Calingee' or 'Maddhy-Kalinga' or 'Môkhalinga'), which disintegrated some time ago owing to the "implication of a rshi (saint) that possessed of the five supernatural powers", was emerging from its former condition into a condition of prosperity and glory, just after the conquest of Śavarâditya, probably, the worst ruler of the time. The royal aspiration of Mahârâja Samudra Gupta (4th century A.D.), in the course of his successful expedition and of his high-imperial-military prowess never had a chance of bringing Kalinga (ie: Maddhya-Kalinga) under one suzerainty, whereas the same could be attained by Kâmârṇava, the first king to the Imperial throne of Kalinga, coming as he did, after the imprecation of the hermit which, it is said, almost depopulated the country. The descendants of Nandaprabhanjana Varmma of Śarapallī¹, Chanda Varmma and Uma Varmma of Simhapura², Śakti Varmma of Pishthâpûraka³ and Viśâkha Varmma of Śrîpura⁴ might have been, indeed, suppressed or might have become subject to the imperial throne of Gangâs. The first success of Kâmârṇava over Śavarâditya of the countries round Mahêndragiri, led to the subsequent victories. Then, according to the Kôrni Copper-plate grant of Ananta Varmma Chôdaganga Dêva, Kâmârṇava, having ascended, the throne of Kalinga, divided Kalinga into five parts and distributed them among his four brothers and himself. The portion of the record referred to, runs thus:—

“चतुर्भि रनुजैर्भित्त वरेन्द्रानाहवोलुक्कान् । दन्त्रै र्दैत्या निवेन्द्रेभ स्स. प्राया
द्वासवी दिशं॥ अथ वन्येभदानौघद्विगुणो कुतनिर्भर्करं—विलिखन्त व्रभशृङ्गै र्मेहेन्द्रं प्रर्रोहसः॥
तत्र च सकल सुरासुर मिद्धसाध्य परार्थ्य किरीट कोटिनिवृष्ट मसृणल चरणपेठ मारा गोकर्ण
स्वामिनमस्य प्रसादासादित धवलच्छत्र चामर सामजध्वज वृषभलाच्छदन पिच्छान्छित
कुन्तनिकर मकर तोरण हुडुक काहलैक शङ्खादिरा ज्योचितैरुपशेभमानः
साक्षान्मेहेन्द्र इव मेहेन्द्रा चलशिखरा दवतेर्य युधिष्ठिर इव चतुर्भिरनुजै रनुगम्यमान समर
शिरमि शवरादित्यन्निहय कामार्णवः कलिङ्गा नगृहीत् × × × । असौ दानार्णवं अनुजं

1. See Ind. Antq. Vol. XIII, P. 48.

2. See Epi. Ind. Vol. IV, pp. 142-45; and Vol. XII, pp. 1-3.

3. See Epi. Ind., Vol. XII, pp. 1-3.

4. See My paper in J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XIV, Pt. II, Ch. VII, pp. 282-84.

कण्डिका वन्धुर कण्ठं विषय विधाय गुणार्णवायां बंवाडि विषयं मारसिंहाय सोडाम
रडलं वज्रहस्ताय कण्टक वर्त्तिनी मदात् एवं च क्रमेण षड्विंश वर्षान् कलिङ्गानपालयत्
× × × ” *

‘Having arrived on the top of the Mahēndragiri like Pāṇḍvās and worshiped God Gōkarṇasvāmi, who afterwards became the important God of Gangā family (ie): ‘Ishta-Dēvatā’, having obtained a boon from that God, and indeed, having high aspirations, slew Śavarāditya on the battle field, and henceforth ruled over Kalinga, and divided it into five districts (Vartins), and distributed it amongst themselves. Anantavarmma Chōḍaganga Deva (the donor of the Kōrni Plates) was a descendant of Dānārṇava, Viceroy of the district of Kaṇḍikā Vandhura Vishaya, to which Nagaram or the present Mukhalingam was the capital.

Now the question may be raised about the descendants of the first, third, fourth and the fifth brothers. It is an instance that our modern historians forget to trace out the other four lines, which according to the C. P. grant of Chōḍaganga Deva, were most probably ruling over the other four districts of Kalinga. From this stand point we may say that the Kings of the Gangā line of Kalinga, whom generally our historians call ‘the early Gangās’ (?), as distinguished from the Gangā line (ie) of Danārṇava (the later Gangas?), ought to be started from Kāmārṇava, the first brother, who practically, ruled over Kalinga Dēśa as its Emperor (Samrāt). This assumption moved me to imagine that the significant epoch, known as the “Gangēya Vamśa Pravarddhamāna Vijaya Rājya Samvatsara”, which drew the keen attention of historians, began to commemorate the regnal year of the first Gangā King (Kāmārṇava) of Kalinga, during the last quarter of the 7th century A.D., according to the C. P. Grants of Chōḍaganga Dēva. The branches, began from Kāmārṇava, Dānārṇava and other brothers, existed even in the 10th century A.D. For the following Śloka (metre), mentioned in the Naḍagam C. P. Grant of Vajrahasta strongly proves the statement:—

“पूर्वं भूपतिभिर्विभज्य वमुधा यापञ्चभिः पञ्चधा ।

मुक्ता भूरि पराक्रमा भुजवला त्तामेक एव स्वयं ॥ ” 1

It means: “the land, that was divided into five pieces by the ancestors of Vajrahasta, was made one and enjoyed by himself by the sheer valour of his own arms.” This means, that the overlordship which remained in the family of Kāmārṇava till then, passed into the hands of Vajrahasta, a descendant of Dānārṇava. That all the branches

* See J. A. H. R. S., Vol. I, No. 3, Jan. 1927.

1. See Epi. Ind., Vol. IV, pp. 190.

continued to exist even in the time of Chôḍaganga Dêva can be inferred from the inscription of Kulottunga Chôḍa:—

“ भस्मीकृत्य कलिङ्गदेश मरिवलं निर्जित्य गाङ्गानरगो,
भंक्ता कोशल खगड् पालनिवहै [दे] वेन्द्रवर्मादिकान् ।
वीरः पल्लवराज इत्यभिहितो राजेन्द्रचोडप्रभो,
कीर्त्युत्तम्भमिवोड् सन्धिषु जयसम्भं शुभं न्यक्षिपत् ॥ ” 1

It is stated in this Ślōka that Pallavarāja defeated Dêvendra Varmma and the other Gangās, his followers, and it does not make any mention of Chôḍaganga Dêva, who, we know from other sources, was the crowned king of all Kalinga Dêsa, and who remained king of Kalinga even after the invasion. This enables us to infer that at one period, probably the early period of his reign, his Sāmanta kings, among whom Devendra Varmma, probably of the Kāmārṇava family, was the leader, rebelled against him, and the maternal grandfather of Chôḍaganga Dêva sent his commander Pallavarāja to establish him on the Kalinga throne. That there was one Dêvendra Varmma of the Gangā family during the 12th century A. D., can be proved from the 'Kampakaya C. P. grant of the Mahāmāṇḍalika Udayāditya of the E. Kadamva family. The following is an extract from that inscription and it proves the statement in as much as Dêvendra Varmma there styles himself like the Gangā Kings of Kalinga:—

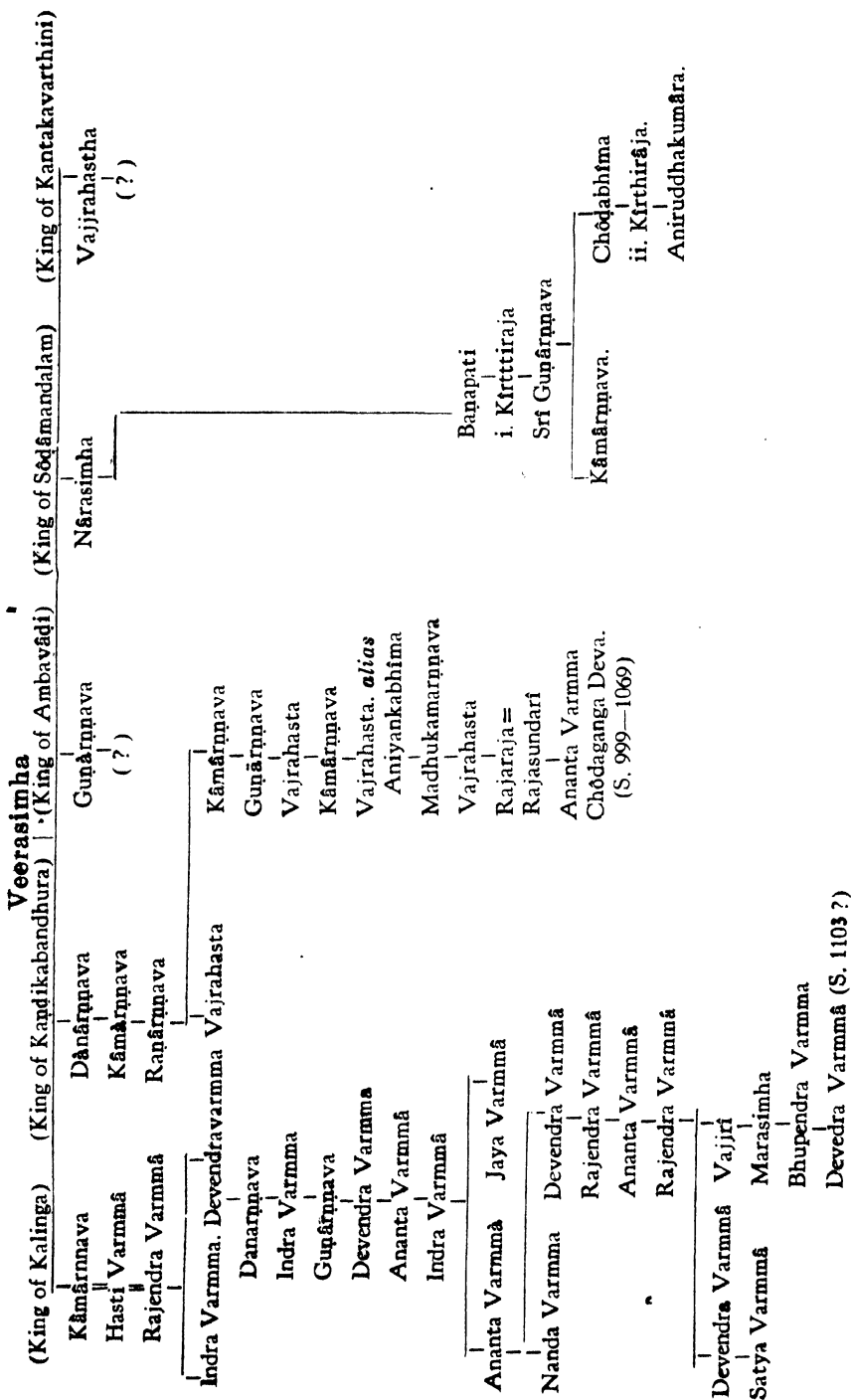
“ कलिङ्ग नगराधिवासका न्महेन्द्राचलामल कनकशिखर प्रतिष्ठितस्य
सचराचरगुरोः सकल भुवन निर्माणैक सूत्रधारः शशाङ्क चूडामणे भगवतो गोकर्णस्वामिनः
चरणकमल युगल प्रणामा द्विगत कलिकालकलङ्को ऽनेकाहव मंशोभ जनित जयशब्दः प्रता-
पावनत समस्त सामान्त चक्रचूडामणि प्रभामन्जरीगुञ्ज रञ्जित निजनिर्लिख धारो पार्जित
कलिङ्गा धिराज × × × स्तत्साराति कुलाचलो नयविनय दया दानदाक्षिण्य शौर्योदय्यार्ध
सत्य त्यागादि गुणसम्पदा माधारभूतो परममाहेश्वरपरमभट्टारकर कुलतिलकः श्रीदेवेन्द्रवर्मा
× × ” *

Thus, it can be seen that we are justified in assuming the existence of the five kingdoms under five collateral branches descended from the common ancestor Veerasimha as stated in the Korni plates of Anantavarma Chôḍa Ganga. On this basis and with the help of the inscriptions discovered so far, we get the following Geneology.

1. See: “The South Indian Inscriptions” Vol. V. (Telugu edition.) No. 1239, A. R. No. 349 of 1893.

* This inscription has been recently discovered and published by Mr. M. Somashekhar in “The Bhārati” of 7th Nov. 1927. (The Telugu Magazine of Madras.)

The Geneological Table of the E. Ganga line showing three collateral lines.



TEXT.

First plate, Second side.

1. Om namah Śivāya || viśuddha jñāna 'dēhaya trivadi divya chak-
shuṣe | Śrōyah¹
2. prāpti nimittāya namah Sômarddha² dhârinē³ || āsīd⁴ = Bānapti⁴
Dēvah prthu —
3. turaga valah Kirttirājas = tatô = bhût tasmât = sarvvânurāgi Kṛta
vahu sukr —
4. tah śrī Guṇēnārṇavôpi tasmât = Kāmārṇavā khyas = tadanuja
valavām⁵ Śchô —
5. dābhimō nr̥bhimas = tat = sūnur = gāṅga dipah kshayita ripukulaḥ
Kirttirajô —
6. Vinitah ||⁶ Svasti Kalyāṇapurāt parama mahēśvara samārajar⁷ =
ānēka ri —
7. pu darppa marddana bhujabaḷa parākrama Gaṅgā nr̥pakulā =
valamvanastambha
8. Gaṅgaika Śabdā = bhinandita Jagajhampa tūryadhvāna bidhvasta
samastâ =

Second plate, First side.

9. rāti chakra mahāmāṇḍalika Śrīmat = Kirttirājo dēva pādah |
10. kushaḷinah⁸ | Varttanti bishaytya | Kṣhṇavāḍa grāmē sāmanti sa —
11. [ma] bāyi Rāṣṭhrakuṭa pramukha samasta nivāsino⁹ janapadān |
sa —
12. mājñāpayati viditam = astu bhavatām | grāmōyam kōshṭhādākṛ —
13. Śya¹⁰ | Mahādēvi Śrī¹¹ Rāddhā¹² mahāpi | samdhivigraha Śrī
pūrṇakara | prati —
14. hāra Śrī Aniruddha Kumāra | akshapaṭala Śrī Āditarāja¹³ | pātra
15. Rāṇa dhavaḷa | ēshām vyavahanē¹⁴ | prasiddha chatuhāimā = bach-
hinna sa —

Second plate, Second side.

16. jalasthala sabitapa latā sarit sapadrā = rānya (sasari) suddha-
skaraṇā¹⁵ samatṣa¹⁶ katsapā¹⁷ —

- | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Read 'Srōyah'. | 2. Read 'Sômarddha'. | * Metre 'Anushṭubha'. |
| 3. „ 'Asī'. | 4. „ 'Bāna-pati'. | 5. Read 'Valavām'. |
| 6. Metre 'Sragddharā'. | 7. „ 'Samarājirānēka'. | 8. „ 'Kushaḷinah'. |
| 9. Read 'Nivāsino'. | 10. „ 'Sbha'. | 11. „ 'Śrīmatī'. |
| 12. „ 'Rāddhā'. | 13. „ 'Śrī Āditya rāja'. | 14. „ 'Vyavahāraṇa'. |
| 15. „ 'Suddhaskaraṇā'. | 16. „ 'samatṣa'. | 17. „ 'Kachhapa'. |

17. dibhr = āchamdrārka kshitisama kalam yāvata mātāpitṛr = ātma-
naścha punya¹⁸ yaśō = bhi —
18. br̥ddhayē | Uttarāyana¹⁹ samkrāntyām | Gamgābādi binirggatāya
yayurbēda karṇa²⁰
19. Sākha²¹ dhyāyinē | Visvāmītra²² gōttrāya | tryār̥shya pravarāya |
pañcha r̥shaya
20. anupravarāya | bahutara klēshāyāsēna²³ prati pādītāya | bhāṭṭa-
putra santō —
21. sha karana pātra²⁴ | Guhēsvara sutāya | dvijōttamāya Bāpanna
nāmnē | tāmra —
22. Śāsani kṛtya pradattōa = smābhīh | atah tāmrapaṭṭaka darśanāt |
kairapi
23. bādha na kartavyēti | grāma = syā = sya vārshika phaladānē
rupyākha 20 Chaturvimsa²⁵ —
24. tir = yatramkē ruākha 24 evam yuvarāja chhāyā rūpya sārddha
khaikam = amkē

Third plate, First side.

25. Ruā 1. mā 2.
26. samvat 5 māghavadi 5 Āsphōṭayamti pitarō valgayanti pitā
mahāh |
27. bhūmidātākulē jātah sacha trātā bhaviṣhyati || bhūmim yah
prati gr̥hātī
28. yaścha bhūmim prayachhati | Ubhau tau punya karmāṇan
niyatam svargga gāminan ||
29. bahubhir = basudhā dattā rajabhi ssagarādibhih | yasya yasya
yadābhūmi sta —
30. sya tasya tadā phalam || svadattām = paradattām = bā yōharēta
vasum = dharām | sa |
31. viśṭhāyām kṛmir = bhūtvā pitṛbhi ssaha pachyatē || padm = vā
padamar dham = vā bhūmērapya —
32. rddhamangulam | harēnnarakamāpnōti yāvadābhūta samplavam ||
dvijāddharmō²⁶

Third plate, Second Side.

33. rtha²⁷ paurāṇam Śrēyaśchē²⁸ janaballabhah | chiramastu maht-
dātā Kī —
34. rttirājō janādhipah || Bāpannasya suvansasya²⁹ pautrādi pa —
35. ri br̥ddhayē | tāmram svasṣṭam samutkṛṇṇam Basumdharōpa-
dhimatā || Śrī ||

- | | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 18. „ ‘punya’. | 19. „ ‘Uttarāyana’. | 20. „ ‘Kārva’. |
| 21. „ ‘Sākha’. | 22. „ ‘Viśvāmītra’. | 23. „ ‘Klēsāyāsēna’. |
| 24. „ ‘pautra’. | 25. „ ‘Chaturvimsa’. | 26. „ ‘dvijāddharmō’. |
| 27. „ ‘tha’. | 28. „ ‘Sṛtyaścha’. | 29. „ ‘suvamāsya’. |

TOSALI AND TOSALA.

By B. SINGH DEO, B. A.

Generally, the Research scholars are not unanimous in the location of Tosali. Mr. Vincent Smith has left the question of Tosali as it is, till now. While the others are inclined to think that the ruins near the Dhauli-hillock in the Puri District are the ancient Tosali. So, we see, that the identification of the capital of Kalinga is still a disputed point. Apart from the question of Tosali, we find the first mention of the Tosala people in the Atharva Veda Parisista and in the Natya Sastra as well. It would not be out of place here to say that like other ancient countries, the country of the Tosalas also took a name after its people.

The countries Kosala, Tosala, Matsya, Utkala and Kalinga are mentioned together by Varaha Mihira who flourished at the end of the sixth century A.D. Later on, we find that Tosala was divided into two parts namely Uttara (Northern) Tosala and Dakshina (Southern) Tosala (Patiakela plate of Sivaraj, Edited by R. D. Benerjee E. I. Vol. IX pp. 285 to 288) and (E. I, Vol. XVI pp. 1 to 8). From the above authenticated accounts, we may say that Tosala was a sub-province in the north Kalinga. So far as the country is concerned the Scholars do not differ from one another. But the difference arises on the location of its capital, Tosali. Asoka conquered Kalinga and made Tosali its capital where a prince of the Royal blood was stationed as his Viceroy to rule over it. Here we come to know for the first time that Tosali was a city in which head-quarters of Kalinga were placed. Ptolemy also writes that it was a metropolis on the bank of the Vaitarani. These two accounts give us the information that it was a town. Most probably, the city Tosali also derived its name from that of its inhabitants the Tosalas. Therefore, Ptolemy's Tosali and Asoka's Tosali were both one and the same and its existence was somewhere in north Kalinga. It is also sure and certain that from the view point of administration Asoka must have selected a place as his capital which could have been a connecting link between Magadha and Kalinga and Ptolemy's account supports it by mentioning that it was on the Vaitarani. He definitely says that Tosali was on the river Vaitarani which flows between Singhbhum and Keonjhar. Although he wrote from a place, several thousands of miles away from the east coast of India, his descriptions are fairly accurate although his map is not quite so, as we cannot expect an accurate map at so early an age. Ptolemy calls Orissa 'Massalia' and he names the four great rivers of Orissa in succession. These are Manada, i. e.,

Mahanadi, Tyndis or Brahmani, Dosarne or Vaitarani and Adamas or Suvarnarekha. He mentions the sea ports Mina Nagara Kosala and Kosamba in Orissa. On the banks of the Dosarne or Vaitarani, he mentions three towns viz, Tosali^{uma} metropolis, Kerikardama and Benugaram. All these places are identified with the site of Benugaram which is undoubtedly the modern Benusagar. As there is a large tank in this place, it is called Benusagar.

But its real name is Benugarh. Lalgarrh, Krishnagarh and Benugarh are situated very close to one another in the same southern border of Singabhum (Gazetteer of Singabhum). Benugarh comes from the words Benu (Forest) and garh (fort). That is, it was a fort situated in the forest. Benugarh and Benudurga are the synonymous terms. Similarly Benusagar also means a forest lake. Benusagar is the largest tank in this place. Each side of Jalaput or water logged area is 1000 cubits. It is overgrown with vegetation. "There are numerous old remains, including the ruins of ten temples and a big palace which are thought to be older than the ninth century A.D. The sculpture both in design and execution is similar to temples that are surmised to date back to the 7th century A.D." Now we find Benusagar as the modern representative of Benugaram and there is a village with some ruins ten miles off Khiching which is called Kerkara. This must be Kerikardama of Ptolemy and Tosali^{um} is the modern Khiching, as there is no other place which can be identified with Tosali^{um}. Mr. Beglar speaks very highly of the sculpture at Khijinga and considers these to belong to eighth century A.D.; and Major Tickell finds that some of its temples were built by King Sasanka who reigned from A.D. 590 to 625. Again we see that the village Solanapur referred to in the copper plate grant of Subankara Deva is distinctly identical with the village Solhapur in the Anandpur Sub-Division of the Keonjhar State. This proves beyond doubt that the Tosala country extended up to the river Vaitarani in the north. If so, what wonder there is in accepting the description of Ptolemy as accurate that the capital Tosali was on the Vaitarani? With the help of the identification of Benugaram, we can easily make out that Tosali was also somewhere near Benugaram on the said Vaitarani; and there is no other place than Khijinga which can be reasonably identified with the site of ancient Tosali. If the other towns and seaports of Orissa mentioned by Ptolemy have been identified in exact places, if the people called Dosarnas are easily identified with a certain people bearing the same name in the Jajpur Division, the site of ancient Tosali on the Vatarani can also be easily located in the vast ruins known as Khijinga and the ancient place of Benugarh leads us quite reasonably to come to such a conclusion. Further, we learn that in ancient time Kalinga did not extend beyond the present District of Ganjam and it is possible in every way to establish the capital in such

a central place which would always be in frequent touch with the Imperial Province of Magadha on one hand and the newly conquered Southern Province of Kalinga on the other. So there is every possibility of Tosali being situated on the Vaitarani as mentioned by Ptolemy. Taking all these facts into consideration it is possible to identify Tosali with modern Khijjinga in Mayurbhanj whose border is being ever washed by the water of the sacred Vaitarani.

KOTA CHIEFS OF AMARAVATI.

A Correction.

By J. RAMAYYA PANTULU B. A., B. L.

In the postscript to his previous article on the Kota Chiefs of Amarāvati, published in the last issue of this Journal, my friend Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao has fallen into a bad error in interpreting the Telugu Verse on which he bases the theory that the surname of the Kota Chiefs was Pōle or Pōlevāru. (Vide Verse quoted by him. The first letter of the fourth line should be ఌ and not ఱ.)

Mr. Krishna Rao takes *Pōlevāri* in the first line as one compound word meaning "Pōle people's". It is really two distinct words *Pōle* and *Vāri*, of which the first should be read along with the previous word '*atlane*' and the second in the first part of the compound word *Vāri Jātamū*. Pōle introduces a simile in the same way as 'like' or 'as' does in English and means the same thing as the preceeding word *atlane*. In fact, *atlanepōle* is a redundant expression and that is, perhaps, the reason which led to Mr. Krishna Rao's mistake. But such redundant expressions are not uncommon in Telugu poetry. It will suffice to refer to two instances viz., Bhāratam Sāntiparvam, first āsvāsam Verse 12 and fourth āsvāsam Verse 185.

Mr. Krishna Rao's interpretation is also against the scheme of the Verse. The central idea of the Verse is that Dhananjayaṇḍu, the founder of the Kōta family was born in the fourth caste. This fact is compared to three similar incidents—viz., the birth of the Moon in the ocean, the birth of Virinchi (Brahma) in the lotus (*Vārijātamū*) and the birth of the Kalpa tree on mount Mēru. To fit in with this scheme, *Vārijātamūna* (in the lotus) should be taken as one word. It is easy to expatiate on the untenability of Mr. Krishna Rao's interpretation but what has been said above is, I think, sufficient for the purpose.

KOTA CHIEFS OF AMARAVATI.

My interpretation of the telugu verse and the theory based on it regarding the surname of the Kotās of Amarāvati seem to be untenable after reconsideration.

B. V. K.

KADHA NIYAMAS.

By K. GOPALAKRISHNAMMA, M.A., L.T.

There is no denying that evil is prevailing everywhere in this world. All rational beings are fully conscious that they have long been suffering from evil in some form or other; This evil, as recognised in the Sankhya and the other allied systems of philosophy, consists of three varieties, namely (1) Adhyatmika-diseases of the body and mind (2) Adhibhautika-injuries occasionally caused by harmful animals such as tigers, bears etc., (3) Adhidaivika-unexpected calamities such as storms, cyclones, thunder, lightening etc. Notwithstanding the fact that the people have long been struggling hard to be rid of this evil, it has not been possible to find an effective means of getting relieved from this misery. There has thus been in this world a long standing demand for such means. For this purpose it was that the various systems of philosophy are known to have come into existence. It has been the fundamental aim of all the systems of philosophy to solve this problem. So every system of philosophy has endeavoured to furnish the people with an infallibly effective remedy which can annihilate this evil once for all and thus secure for them the absolute salvation (Atyantika Mukti). Before proceeding straight to the final solution of this problem, every system has had to discuss many topics relating to the various phenomena of this visible world. It has also to trace the successive processes underlying the three fundamental stages of this universe, viz—creation, sustenance and dissolution. While doing so it has unavoidably to draw the attention of the people to the necessity of recognising the existence of a supreme spirit which is all-powerful, omniscient and omnipresent, and which is capable of controlling and shaping the destinies of all living beings in accordance with the time-honoured principle—Karma. It is this supreme spirit that has been designated as God. The various systems of philosophy hold diverse theories in respect of the aforesaid fundamental phenomena of this universe as well as the nature and functions of this God. Before each system tries to establish its own theory, it has, of necessity, to take up for critical examination all the contrary theories, to discuss them in considerable detail and to finally demolish them. While so doing it has to deal separately with each system and carry on a regular controversy with it. A controversy should be conducted on certain prescribed principles. Hence arose the necessity to frame such principles and rules as could serve immensely by way of guiding the parties engaged in the controversy, from the beginning to the end. The principles of controversy laid down by the Sastra-karas for this purpose are as follows:—

Controversy, as accepted by all the experiments of Sastras, consists of three varieties, namely, discussion (Vadakatha), wrangling (Jalpakatha) and cavilling (Vitandakatha). Of these, discussion is that kind of controversy which is carried on by two disputants with the main object of directly ascertaining the absolute truth underlying the topic in question. Wrangling is that variety of controversy which is carried on by two disputants with the main object of vanquishing each other. Cavilling (Vithandakatha) is that kind of controversy in which each disputant simply endeavours to demolish, on grounds valid or not, whatever is said by the opponent, without caring either to substantiate his own theory or even to enumerate the same. In discussion generally, good-natured and fair-minded persons such as the teacher and the pupil or two friends or two co-pupils are engaged. When two good natured persons are engaged in discussion, the ascertainment of truth is rather intended for the spectator. But when the teacher and the pupil are engaged, the truth is sought for by the pupil alone. In wrangling, good-natured persons are engaged and intend either to satisfy the mutual spite or to acquire reputation, wealth and such like extraordinary benefits. Cavilling is generally carried on by wicked persons alone. In discussion, success consists in one party establishing his own point and refuting that of the opponent; so also in the case of wrangling. But cavilling is to close with one party demolishing the position of the opponent without even seeking to maintain his own ground. It is quite obvious that, while a controversy is going on, some competent umpires Prasnikas or judges are required in order to see that the principles of controversy are duly observed, and to decide the final result. In discussion one disputant is to investigate the truth by discussing with the opponent or sometimes with the umpires also when necessary. Those who are to serve as Judges in this connection should be free from love and spite, and be well-versed in all the branches of knowledge. They shall be of an odd number 3, 5 or 7, so that they might decide the final result by majority when there is difference of opinion. Or there may be a single judge provided he possesses these qualifications—he must be competent enough to square up the differences, to solve all doubts that might arise in the course of the controversy, and to bring the controversy to a proper close; he must be magnanimous and be free from all defects and blemishes; he must have definite and well-settled views in regard to all the general topics which would come up for controversy.

The duties of the umpires are the following:—(1) Deciding the place of controversy (2) Deciding as to the kind of controversy that is to be carried on (3) Distinguishing the previous statement made by a disputant from the subsequent one (4) Deciding about the merits and the demerits of the refutants (5) Encouraging the defeated party and (6) Deciding about the final result of the controversy. In wrangling

and Cavilling the 'parties are quite incapable of carrying out these functions, in as much as they are actuated by vehement desire for triumphing over each other. So the presence of capable judges is quite necessary in order to carry on the controversy in accordance with the prescribed rules, and to bring it to a proper close.

The actual procedure to be adopted in a controversy is as follows:—

When questioned, during Discussion, by the opponent, the disputant should cite, by way of authority, either a Vedic text or some other passage equally valid and authoritative which can ensure the confirmation of his point; but he ought not to criticise the question of the opponent in a crooked manner, nor should he put forward a defective syllogism or a false text. For what the disputant aims at is the ascertainment of the truth and not the defeat of the opponent. Truth can be ascertained by means of a valid authority, and not by criticising the question of the opponent in an improper manner. For this reason it is that the disputant is required to quote either a Vedic text which is self-evident, or a Smṛti text which is equally valid and really helpful in leading to the ascertainment of the absolute truth. When such an authority is quoted by the disputant, the opponent should try to refute it, either by proving it to be meaningless and invalid, or by interpreting it in a different way. But he cannot be said to win thereby; he should also cite a verbal authority in support of his own point. It is only by means of a verbal authority that a point can be gained. When the opponent has thus refuted the argument of the disputant and established his own point, the disputant should again, interpret in a different manner the verbal authority quoted by the opponent. He must necessarily do so in order to ensure the confirmation of his own point. He cannot be said to have gained his point on the mere strength of the authority quoted by himself, unless he clearly disproves the validity of the opponent's argument. This he can do by interpreting the verbal authority quoted by the opponent, suitably to his own point. The disputant cannot stop here. He must also disprove the other interpretations put upon his own verbal authority by the opponent. Even now the absolute truth cannot be said to be clearly realised; for when the disputant refutes the interpretation proposed by the opponent, and alleges that his interpretation is the correct one, the opponent also can equally contend that his interpretation is the correct one. How then can it be decisively stated that the real sense of the disputants' authority is ascertained? The real sense of a verbal authority can be ascertained only with the help of such interpretative process as the consideration of the syntactical relation subsisting between context (Sangathih), beginning (Upakramah) end (Upasamhara) &c. Now the disputant should demonstrate that, with reference to his verbal authority, the above processes are favourable to his own interpretation, and

unfavourable to the interpretation put forward by the opponent. Although the disputant has thus established the correctness and validity of his interpretation, and clearly demolished the position of the opponent by successfully interpreting his verbal authority in a different way, the controversy cannot be said to close.

After the real meaning of the verbal authority quoted by the disputant has thus been determined, the real sense of the text quoted by the opponent should also be determined in a similar manner, by both the parties assembled as friends. In regard to the text quoted by the opponent, the two interpretations proposed by the disputant and the opponent should be dispassionately discussed and one of them should be determined as the real one by reference to 'context', 'beginning', 'end' and other principles of interpretation. Then it is the disputant's lookout to demonstrate decisively that, in regard to the text quoted by the opponent, his interpretation alone is the correct one and the opponent's incorrect by pointing out that the principles of interpretation—context &c.—are favourable to his interpretation, and unfavourable to that of the opponent. In case the opponent asks for a valid authority in relation to such points as are based only on perceptive evidence or personal evidence, the disputant can put forth perceptive evidence or personal evidence, as the case may be. It must be remembered that syllogistic reasoning should not be resorted to by either party except when no other evidence is available. Thus Discussion is to go on till the absolute truth underlying the topic at issue is ascertained. But it ought not to stop with the mere defeat of one of the parties. Suppose the defeated party recollects an authority and raises a doubt, or one or more of the spectators may raise doubts. In either case, irrespective of the number of persons participating in the discussion, it may be prolonged to any length until the absolute truth is arrived at beyond all doubts.

In a discussion, a party is said to be defeated, either when he employs such fallacious arguments—use of ambiguous words (Chala), employment of defective reasons (Hetvābhāsa) &c.—as would vitiate the truth sought for, or when he does anything which might obstruct the continuance of the discussion. If however, after employing such vitiating arguments, the defeated party could resume the Discussion in the proper manner, he must be admired for it, and the other party should be regarded as his teacher. If, on the other hand, the defeated party should, out of inability, desist from the Discussion, he must be condemned or even fined and punished in case of serious blunder.

Wrangling (Jalpakatha) can go on until one of the two parties is unconditionally defeated. In wrangling a party is said to be defeated either when he utters anything which conflicts with the point at issue, or is inconsistent, or is not very convincing, or when he becomes silent. So also in the case of Cavilling (Vithandakatha).

In the case of Wrangling and Cavilling, even if the defeated party should venture to resume the controversy, he need not be condemned. But he may be declared as simply defeated. If, out of anger, he should refrain from the controversy, he must be condemned and even punished with a fine.

In Wrangling, the Umpires (Prāśnikâh) need not be found fault with although they fail to repeat the statements made by the disputants. In the case of Wrangling the parties are to be declared as defeated, if they are found wanting in respect of learning. This could be ascertained even before the wrangling is started, by holding a competitive literary test which would help in determining the relative fitness of the two parties. When either party happens to utter anything faulty by mistake, he should not be considered as defeated. Thus have been explained in detail (1) the three varieties of Controversy which are still in practice in our daily life (2) the necessity for the presence of Umpires during the controversy and (3) the circumstances by which the victory or defeat of either party is determined by the Umpires and the Spectators.

THE JIRJINGI COPPER PLATES OF INDRAVARMA.

By R. SUBBA RAO, M. A., L. T.

This is a set of three copper-plates strung on a ring which had no seal affixed to it when it was handed over to me by the Honorary President of the Society, Sir A. P. Patro, Kt., B. A., B. L., M. L. C., at Berhampore in May last for decipherment and publication in the Society's Journal. The set was discovered along with pieces of pottery and bricks on a spot, where an old temple with a Saivite lingam was unearthed, in the village of Tirjingi near Tekkali, Ganjam Dist. This modern village of Jirjingi must be the same as the "Jijjika Grāma" mentioned in these plates as having been granted as a gift to the Brahmins by Mahārāja Indravarma, the Donor.

2. *Description of the plates:*—The plates are three in number and they are strung in the ring, the edges of which are left open. Probably the seal was struck off in the act of digging. The ring without seal weighs $12\frac{1}{2}$ tolas, while the three plates weigh altogether $56\frac{1}{2}$ tolas, so that the whole set is only 69 tolas. The circumference of the ring measures 11 inches, while its diameter is 3 inches. The rod is only one inch thick.

Each of the three plates measures $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 3 inches, while the thickness varies from $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ inch. The first and third plates are thinner than the second plate. They contain writing only on the inner sides, the outer sides being left blank to serve as covers to the inner writings. The second or middle plate contains writing on both sides and hence it is thicker. The edges of all the three plates are raised into rims so as to protect the writing. The inner sides of the first and third plates contain each 7 lines, while the obverse and reverse sides of the middle plate contain each 6 lines only, so that in all we get 26 lines of inscription. The letters are bold and clear and the writing is very well preserved throughout.

3. *Script and Language:*—The alphabet is Telugu of the 9th or 10th C., A. D., and resembles closely that of the Chalukyan Grants edited by me in Vol. 2, Pt. 3 & 4. The language is Sanskrit but there are many grammatical errors. Excepting the two Vyasa Slokas at the end, the whole inscription is in prose only.

4. The points that call for orthographical notice are given below:—

(1) No difference is observed in the use of ! and l ; and b and v ; for instance in line 1, sakala is written instead of Sakala; and in line 2, pralaya is written instead of Praḷaya. Similarly in lines 8, 9, 13 and 16, the words atulavala, Vāndhavā, Vrahmachari and Yaśōvala are written with a 'va' instead of with a 'ba', probably on the ground of 'abhēdam' or no difference, between 'va' and 'ba'.

However, in words like Sambamdha, Kutumbina etc., the 'dvitva' letter 'ba' alone is written.

(2) In lines 3, 6 and 13, a visarga is unnecessarily added to the words Avāpta, Adhipati and Savrahma respectively.

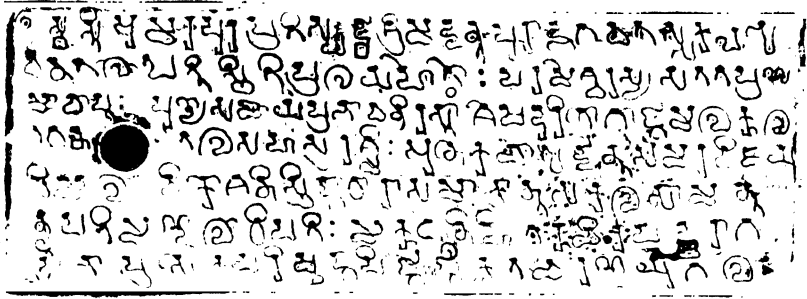
(3) In line 11, the word 'sambaddha' is wrongly given for 'sambamdha'. And in line 12, the letter 'sya', occurring in the clause 'Samājñāpaya tya.sya yam Grāmō' is unnecessarily added.

(4) The use of 'Anunāsika' for 'Anusvāra' in lines 3, 5, 7 etc., and also the use of guttural rasal instead of the anusvāra in Saṅchaya in line 3, in maṇḍala in line 6, in maṇḍapa in line 9 etc., etc. is noteworthy. The doubling of consonants in several places is also seen.

5. *Subject matter of the plates:*—The inscription records that, from the city of Dantapura, the rival of Amarapura (line 1), the illustrious Mahārāja Indravarma—who had all his sins removed by the greatness of the accumulation of virtue which was obtained by his constantly performing obeisance to God Paramēśvara, who is creator, supporter and destroyer of all world (lines 2 & 3), who is the Sun in the firmament of the spotless Gāṅga family (lines 3 & 4), whose feet were resplendent with the bright lustre of the precious stones contained in the crowns of vassals who were defeated in many a battle of four-tusked elephants (lines 4-7), whose creeper bower of wealth gave shelter to many friends, relatives, the meek and the helpless (lines 8 & 9), who meditates on the feet of his parents and who is the lord of the Three Kalingas (line 10)—issues a command to all the assembled cultivators (line 12) of the village of Jijjika belonging to Vōṅkhara district (line 11) to the effect that the said village is constituted into an agraḥāra, to last as long as the oceans, mountains, moon, stars, and sun endure (line 15) and is given by him in two equal parts to Rudraswāmi's son Agniswami and to the latter's son, Rudraswāmi who belonged to Viṣṇuvruddha Gōtra and who were religious students of the Taittiriya School (lines 13 & 14).

The grant was made for his (King's) attainment of merit, life, fame, strength and prosperity and also for his parents' attainment of virtue (line 16). The said village was granted, free from all obstacles and dues (line 17). All the assembled cultivators are ordered to observe towards this grant all the previous and customary rights belonging to it (line 18). The future Kings are also requested to protect this gift and to continue it as coming from their dynastic members (lines 19-21). Then follow the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses (lines 22-25). The latter half of 25th line contains the date in numerical symbols, viz., the 309th year of the augmenting reign and the 21st day in the month of Vaiśākha. The last line (26) records that the grant was written, at Royal Command, by the Foreign Secretary, Lord Singha, Deva.

First plate, Second side.

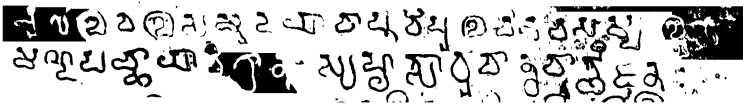


TEXT *

First plate, Second side.

1. Om** Svasti Amarapura pratisparddhi¹ Srimaddantapurād Bhaga-
vatassakala¹ Bhu
2. vanatalōtpatti sthiti pralaya² hētōh Paramēśvarasya satata praṇā
3. māvāptah³ puṇya saṇchaya prabhāva nirastāsēsha duritō Gāṅgā-
malakula
4. gaganatala sahasraraśmih | Anēka Chāturdanta samara vijaya
5. vimala vikōśa nistriṅśa⁴ dhārā samākrānta sakala sāmanta
6. nrupati maṇḍalādhipatih⁵ makuta nihita ruchira padmarāga
7. prabhā prasēka parishvaṅga piṅgāṅgī kruta charaṇa yugalah |

Second plate, First side.



* From the original plates in my possession.

** Represented by a symbol.

1. Read 'Sakala'.

2. Read 'Pralaya'.

3. Read 'Māvāpta'.

4. „ 'Nistrimśa'.

5. „ 'lādhipati'.

Second plate, First side.

8. Atulavala samudayāvāpta | vipula vibhava sampallatā
9. maṇḍapachchāyā viśrānta suhrutsādhū vāndhavārtthi⁶ janah |
10. matāpitru pādānuddhyātā strikalinṅgā dhipati ⁷Srimahā
11. Rājēndravarmma | vōṅkhāra bhōga sambaddha⁸ Jijjikāgrāme
12. sarvva samavētānkuṭumbina samājnāpa yatyasyayam⁹ Grāmō
13. smābhirv Vishṇu vruddha sagōttrāya Ttattiriya Savrahma¹⁰chārīnā

Second plate, Second side.

14. Rudrasvāmi sūnavē Agnisvāminē tattanūjāyacha Rudrasvāminē
 15. samvibhajyārddhinā Samudrādri Śasi Tārakārkkā Pratishṭha
 magrahāram krutvā
 16. svapunyaīyūryyaśō valavarddhanārttha¹¹ mātāpitroścha punyāvāpta
 17. yē sarvvakara parihāraiḥ parihrutya chāyam Grāmah
 18. prattah ¹²tadhēvam bhavadbhiḥ pūrvvōchita maryyādayōpas-
 thēyam |
 19. Bhavishya taścha Rājñē vijñāpayāmi | Dharmmākramavikramā

Second plate, Second side.

14. Rudrasvāmi sūnavē Agnisvāminē tattanūjāyacha Rudrasvāminē
15. samvibhajyārddhinā Samudrādri Śasi Tārakārkkā Pratishṭha
magrahāram krutvā
16. svapunyaīyūryyaśō valavarddhanārttha¹¹ mātāpitroścha punyāvāpta
17. yē sarvvakara parihāraiḥ parihrutya chāyam Grāmah
18. prattah ¹²tadhēvam bhavadbhiḥ pūrvvōchita maryyādayōpas-
thēyam |
19. Bhavishya taścha Rājñē vijñāpayāmi | Dharmmākramavikramā

6. Read 'Vārttha'.

7. Read 'ŚŚrt'.

8. Read 'Sambamdhā'.

9. „ 'yatya yām'.

10. „ 'Sabrahma'.



11. „ 'Balavarddhanārttham'.

12. „ 'Tadhaiva'.

Third plate, First side.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

Third plate, First side.

20. nāmanyatamayōgādavāpta Bhūmaṇḍalādhirājyairapi mā¹³
21. mahīmanuśāsa dbhim¹⁴kramāgatadāna mityanu pālaniyam ||
22. Apicha ślōkō Bha¹⁵vatah || Svadattām para dattāmmvā¹⁶ yatnā-
draksha
23. yudhishtīra mahī¹⁷mahimatām śrēshṭha dānāchchrēyōnupālanam
24. Shashtim varshasahasrāṇi Svarggēmōdati bhūmida¹⁸ āchchēttā
chānuma
25. ntācha tānyēva narakē vasēt | Pravarddha māna Sam  (309) |
Vaisakha di  (21) ||
26. likhitamidam mahārājñē sāndhi vigrahika Dēvasiṅgha Dēvēnēti||

13. „ ‘mam’


14. „ ‘Dbih’.

15. „ ‘Bhagavatah’.

16. „ ‘dattāmvā’.

17. „ ‘mahā’.

18. „ ‘Bhūmidah’.

 I am thankful to Sri Lakshminarayan Harischendan Jagadev, Raja Bahadur of Tekkali for supplying me with the correct interpretation of the numerical symbols found in line 25. I must also express my grateful thanks to my friend Mr. C. Atmaram for helping me with regard to some readings.

THE TIRLINGI COPPER-PLATE GRANT.

By P. SATYANARAYANA RAJAGURU.

About two years back, a woman of Tirlingi, a village near Tekkali, Ganjam Dt., discovered a copper plate from a heap of mud, that was removed from an old well. In Dec , 1927, my friend, Pandit Lingaraja Misro of Parsuramapuram, came to know of the discovery and brought the plate from the woman, just while she was going to melt it in order to prepare a set of copper bangles.

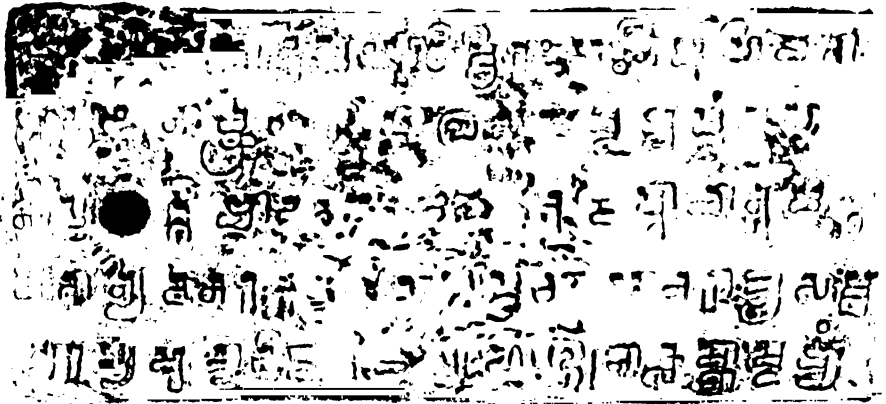
The plate was sent to me for examination, and I found it to be the last plate of the missing set. I had not the least intention to publish it, until the other plates of the set, of which it forms a part, are discovered, but being persuaded by the Secretary of the A. H. R. Society, to whom I showed the rubbings of the plate, to publish it, I am now editing it.

The discovery of this *one* plate is a matter of sorrow no doubt, but at the same time it is of vital importance to the history of our country. The plate is the last one of a set and it was engraved in the well-known "Pravardhamāna" Era 28, in the month of 'Phalguna Krishnāshtami'. We know nothing about the Donor or the Donee or the Donation. Hence, it is an unpleasant discovery.

The dimensions of the plate are $4\frac{1}{2}" \times 2" \times \frac{1}{8}"$. The weight is about 6 tolas. The hole, through which runs a copper ring, is $\frac{1}{4}"$ in diameter. The edges of the plate are not raised into rims, in order to protect the writing, as generally done in the copper plates of the Early Ganga Kings of Kalinga. So, some letters are damaged.

On one face of the plate, five lines of subject matter are inscribed, whereas on the second face only two. Each line, in average contains about 17 letters. The Character, that is employed in the plate, is the ancient "Brāhmi lipi" of Kalinga, which is used in the copper-plate grants of the early Kalinga kings, like Hasti Varmmā, Indra Varmmā, Nandaprabhanjana Varmmā etc. On paleographical grounds, this plate would be placed in the 7th century A.D. There is little matter to discuss either on phrasiology or orthography.

Plate, First side.

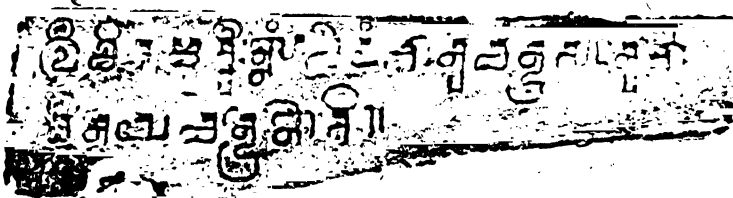


TEXT ¹

Plate, First side.

1. Dattam = vā yatnādraksha yudhishṭhira mahīmāht matām
2. Śrēshṭha dānā = chchhrēyō = nupālanam shashṭhim = varsha_a sahasrā—
3. nī svarggē modati bhūmidah ākshēptā cha = numantā
4. cha tānyēva narakē vasēd = eti | pravarddhamana rājya samva—
5. tsarasya ashṭhāvimsātim = asya phālgunō² kristnāshtamyāmi

Plate, Second side.



Plate, Second side.

6. likhitam = utkīrṇam ch = edam bhānuchamdrasya sūnuna
7. Vinayachamdrēnōti² ||

1. From the original plate.

2. Read Vinayachandrēnōti.

As regards the donor of this plate, the question may be raised whether he belongs to the Early Ganga family or not. No doubt, it is a very critical point to decide; but still, through the medium of two narrow lines of argument, a sound decision could be formed and the difficulty could easily be surmounted. Of these two points on which the answer depends, one is the engraver of the plate, and the other is the well known Gangēya Era, "Pravarddhamāna Rājya Samvatsara". Both the points shall be carefully examined in the ensuing paragraphs.

Although it is an unpleasant discovery, it is hard to give up the temptation of thinking, more or less, about the famous engraver of the plate. I call him the famous engraver because, he is the man who engraved the copper-plate grants of Hasti Varmma and Indra Varmma of Eastern Ganga line dated 'Pravarddhamana Vijayarājya Samvatsara' 80, and 86 and 87, respectively. In each of the plates, our clever engraver never fails to identify himself as the son of Bhānu Chandra. Hence, I think, that Bhānu Chandra, father of Vinaya Chandra, might have been either a renowned engraver of that period or a distinguished person in the courts of the Early Ganga Kings of Kalinga.

The matter referred to, which we find in the plates of Hasti Varmma and Indra Varmma is given below:—

"Idam Vinayachandrēna Bhānuchandrasya Sūnuna,
Śāsanaṃ Rājasimhasya likhitam svamukhāgnayā".

It means: 'The grant was engraved by Vinayachandra, on the oral order of Rajasimha', who, most probably, might have been the prime minister of both the Kings Hastivarmma and Indra Varmma. I think, this Vinaya Chandra might have been a member of the 'Apūrvanāṭa' family, and the ancestor of Pallava Chandra, son of Matr-chandra, who engraved the Chicacole and Dharmalingēsvara copper-plate grants of Devendra Varmma, son of Guṇārṇava, in the 183rd and 184th years of Gangēya era. The matter that is mentioned in the said plates of Devendra Varmma runs thus:—

"Apūrva Nāṭa Vamsēna Matr-chamdrasyasūnuna |
Likhitam Pallavachandrēna Śāsanaṃ Svamukhāgnayā ||"

It means: "The grant was written by Pallavachandra, son of Matr-chandra, who belongs to the 'Apūrvanāṭa' family, on the personal oral order.

The following points led me to think about the relationship between Vinayachandra and Pallava Chandra:—

i. The co-ordination between the meter of Vinaya Chandra in the plates of Hasti Varmma and Indra Varmma, and that of Pallava Chandra in the Plates of Devendra Varmma.

ii. The accentual harmoniousness of the names of both the persons, which are ending in "Chandra".

iii. Both of them seem to be the court engravers of the kings of the Gangâ Dynasty.

Now, above all, there is another interesting point to be discussed, viz., the age of our engraver. Our present plate is granted in "Pravarddhamâna Rājya Samvatsara 28"; and the Achyutâpuram plate of Indra Varmmâ was granted in the Gangeya era 87. Both the plates are engraved by one man; and he is our Vinaya Chandra, son of Bhānu Chandra. The period between the two plates is about 60 years. It can be well imagined that our present plate might not have been engraved unless the engraver was only twenty. Hence, there is little difficulty to infer that our distinguished engraver Vinayachandra, beautifully engraved the plate of Indravarmmâ, probably, in his eighteenth year.

Now, I shall conclude this article after a short discussion of another interesting topic. In trying to fix the date of the beginning of the 'Gângēya Samvatsara', Mr. G. Ramadas B. A., says:—

"The year A. D. 349 * * * *, falls within the period of Samudragupta's conquering march; it appears that the Gupta conquerer subdued Kalinga in A. D. 349 and the Ganga kings started their Era to commemorate the victory of Samudragupta over Svāmidatta because this victory must have obtained the independence of Kalinga. So, the expression 'Vijā Rājya' used for naming the years appears to signify the independence obtained by Kalinga by the victory of Samudragupta over Svāmidatta, who was the king of the kingdoms of Pishtapura and Mahendragiri-Kottūra, at the time of the invasion."

The above conclusion does not stand to reason on account of the discovery of our present copper plate, because in this plate, the significant word "Vijaya Rājya" is not used in the Gangeya Era. As we go to the later period, we find the name of the Era to be more lengthy. The words 'Pravarddhamāna Rājya Samvatsara' subsequently developed into 'Pravarddhamāna Vijaya Rājya Samvatsara' and Gangeyavamsa Pravardhamana Vijayarajya Samvatsara in the times of Hasti Varmma (G. S. 80) and Rajendra Varmmâ (G. S. 313) respectively. Hence, practically, the word 'Vijaya Rājya' never signifies the independence of Kalinga, nor is it used to commemorate either the victory of Samudragupta over Kalinga or the remembrance of the glorious prowess of any soldier of Gangâ dynasty, in the battle of Kalinga, against the king of Pishthâpūra and Mahendragiri Kottūra.

THE RAMIREDDIPALLI BUDDHIST SCULPTURES.

By R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T.

Early in 1924, the Kanarese Epigraphist discovered a stupa on the Ramireddipalli (Gummudidurru) hillock, 6 miles off Madira Railway Station on the N. G. S. R., where "he found three sculptured Dogoba slabs like those of Amaravati, representing some episodes from the life of Buddha. These slabs are a few of the many that were ordinarily planted round the base of the mound as its railing. A few chips of marble bearing letters in Brahmi and a head of Buddha were also found here. The existence of these important relics was reported for detailed examination and excavation to the Superintendent, Archaeological survey. These relics are only 15 miles from the famous sites of Amaravati"¹. "These remains in the Nandigama Taluq were excavated and restored by the Arch. Superintendent and are now protected by Government."² This place can be reached from Nandigama which is 6 miles off Ramireddipalli and that is how I reached the place.

In 1927, Mr. Mahamad Hamid of the Arch. Department visited the place and excavated it in several places, which can still be seen. He succeeded in unearthing the base of a big stupa which is 30 ft. by 30 ft. and circular in shape, and an immense quantity of bas-reliefs round the base of the stupa. It is unfortunate that some of these sculptures should have been broken in the act of unearthing. The bas-reliefs which represent a mode of sculpturing figures on a flat surface, the figures being raised above the surface but not so much in high relief, found on the Ramireddipalli hillock, number 40 in all and are an excellent specimen of workmanship on marble, belonging to the 2nd or 3rd century A. D.

The following interesting account of the same given by the Director-General of Archaeology³ compelled me to undertake a visit to the place in last June:—

"Later by about a century and a half than these gold and silver objects from Taxila (dating from 1st C. A. D.) is a splendid array of Buddhist bas-reliefs unearthed by Mr. Mhd. Hamid at Gummudiduru in Kistna Dt. of Madras and a group of Buddhist monasteries, stupas and pillared halls of about the same age at Nagarjuna Konda in Guntur Dt. The former are especially welcome additions

1. Annual Report of S. I. Ep. for 1924.

2. Annual Report of S. I. Ep. for 1927.

3. Vide Times of India, Illustrated Weekly for March 1928.

to the extant movements of early Buddhism, in that they belong to the Amaravati School of sculpture which, from an artistic point of view, is the most attractive of all the early Indian Schools, but which has hitherto been represented almost exclusively by the well-known reliefs of Amarāvati.

The remains that have now been excavated at Gummididuru occupy an extensive plateau and comprise besides other structures a large stupa, two small stupas, remains of monastic buildings and other subsidiary edifices. The main stupa of which only the basement has survived is adorned with a series of reliefs in grey marble, like the stupas of Amarāvati and Jagayapēta. 34 of these reliefs have been recovered, each depicting a stupa relieved by horizontal bands of ornament and surmounted by the customary harmika railing and umbrellas. On the drum of the stupa are represented many incidents from the life of Buddha as well as from the Jataka stories. These miniature stupas in relief are no doubt copies of the great Stupa which they serve to embellish. Besides sculptural remains, the recent excavations also brought to light 3 Prakrit Inscriptions in Brahmi characters of 2nd, 3rd C. A.D., lead coins of the Andhra dynasty, a damaged silver casket and a gold necklace of pleasing design, which were found in an earthen pot inside the main stupa. That the stupa was in use for several centuries is shown by a collection of 127 clay seals inscribed with Buddhist creed, in Nāgari-Characters of the medieval period"

During the middle of June 1928, at the request of the society, I went to Ramireddipalli to study the archeological remains *in situ* and to obtain a few photographs of the Excavations, Sculptures and Inscriptions. I covered a distance of about 28 miles by motor from Bezvada to Nandigama and then by a country cart, I reached Ramireddipalli which is about 6 miles off Nandighama. I had a Photographer with me and 2 or 3 peons supplied by the Tahsildar and local Dy. Inspector to show us the way and to give us facilities required near the site. On the way to Ramireddipalli, at one or two places, I found old temples, with Telugu inscriptions and some broken sculptures.

The village of Ramireddipalli is a small hamlet and it is said to be an agrahāram.

The hill, on which the archæological discoveries were made, is only a furlong off Ramireddipalli and originally belonged to it but in recent years, it was transferred for revenue purposes to Gummididuru, a government village 2 miles off. On reaching the top of hill, one can see with great relief and pleasure, a large number of villages all round within a distance of 2 or 3 miles. Thus, there is Jonnalagadda, a Zamindari village a mile off; Sivapuram 2 miles off; and Konduru at the same distance. Thus, the Ramireddipalli Stupa

at the height of its popularity was visited by the people of all the surrounding villages. There is also Nandigama 6 miles off, Madhira at the same distance, Jagayyapeta a little more distant and other populous places. Amarāvati is 15 miles off. It would appear that at some time prior to 4th C. A.D., the whole valley of the Krishna (both north and south) was studded with Buddhist stupas, vihāras, chaityas and monasteries, as evidenced by the innumerable Buddhist antiquities that are discovered throughout the region. Though the village of Ramireddipalli and the hillock closeby, on which the Buddhist monastery was built, now appear to be away from the rivulet Mulagêru, in ancient times, they must have been nearer to it.

The hill is very small in extent and height. At the top of it we find a table land running south to north, one furlong in length and half a furlong in breadth. Towards the north, there is again a rising hill and similarly towards the east, so that on two sides, the ancient monastery and stupa were protected, while the remaining sides were used and are still used, as pathways for getting up and down the hill. Towards the southern edge of the hill we see the keeper of the monument as well as his thatched shed. Towards the other end stands the writer of this article and the intervening space is filled with the excavations of the stupa and monastery. Right in front of the keeper is the mound with the sculptures all round it. The mound is 30 ft. by 30 ft. and circular in shape. The top structure is not found. In the medieval times, when Buddhism suffered everywhere in India from the ravages of enemies, it was probably looted, burnt and sacked, or it may be that, when the Buddhist monks no longer took their shelter there, time worked its own havoc. Whatever may be the reason, the only existing part of the stupa is its base, around which we see at present forty *Sculptured Slabs* each depicting a miniature Stupa. Readers of this journal who are quite familiar with the design on the cover of the Journal can easily recall to their minds the picture and the contents.⁴ The base is 4 ft. high and so also each of the sculptured marbles. In front of the stupa and towards the north, excavations were made early in 1927 and as a result, the foundations of an old monastery have been unearthed (vide plate I). From the stupa to near where the writer of the article is standing, the length will be 100 ft. and breadth nearly half of it. At the end of the foundations, we get the beginning of the rising hill on the top of which the monks of old probably spent their time in philosophic discourse.

To the East of the monastery there is a sort of small tank in which the rain water was probably collected and preserved for bathing or drinking purposes. To the South of the tank are the traces of the ruins of 2 small monasteries.

4. Vide my note on the cover illustration in Vol. I, No. 3, Pages 103-105.

Plate I.
Archaeological Excavations on Ramireddipalli (Gummididurru) Hill.
Remains of Stupa and Monastery.

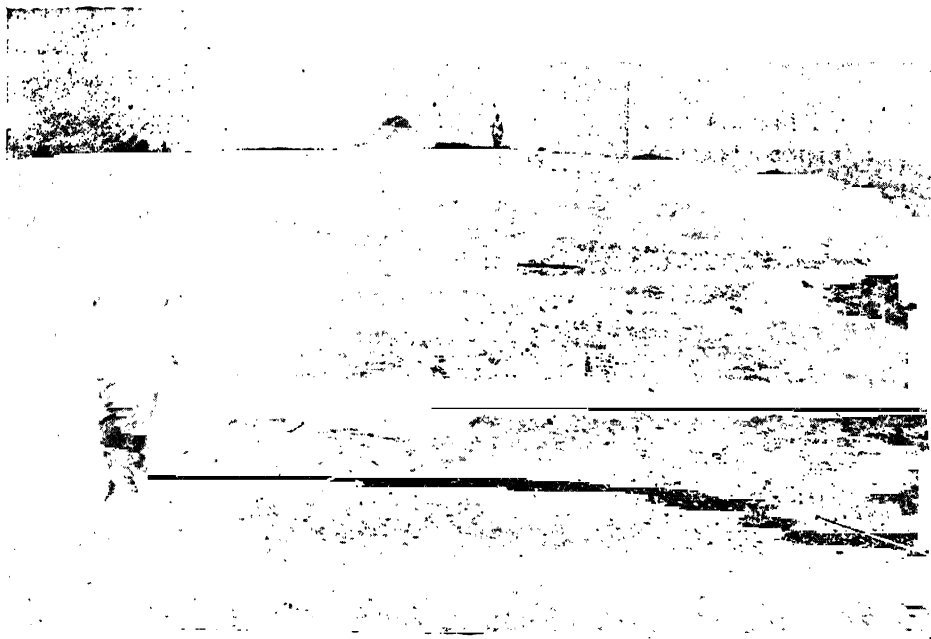


Plate II.
Sculpture No. 13 and a part of No. 14.
No. 13 is a statue of Buddha with a Sanskrit Inscription at bottom.



Plate IV. Amaravati Sculpture.

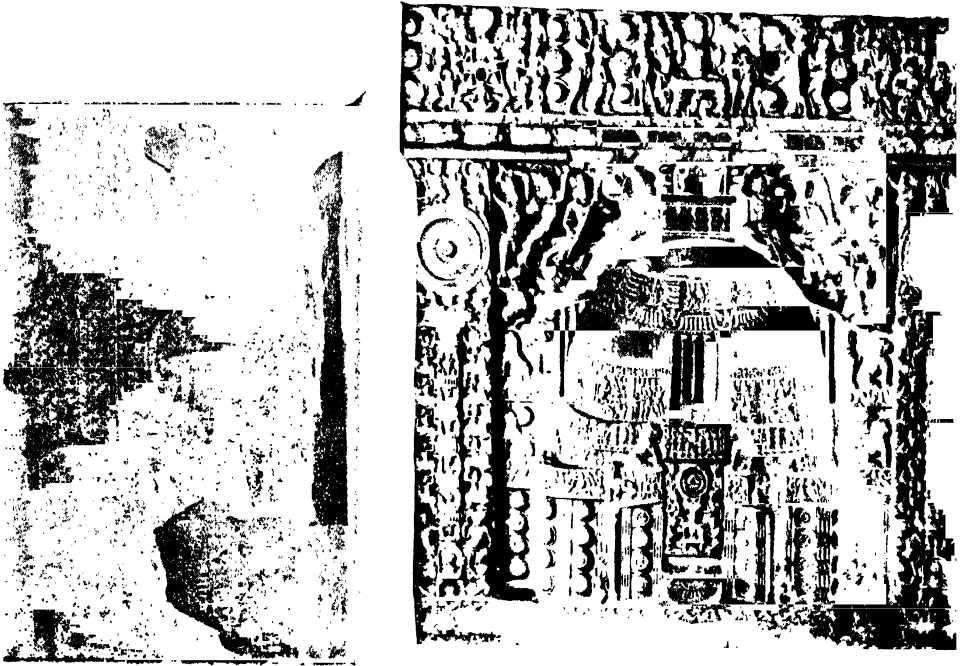
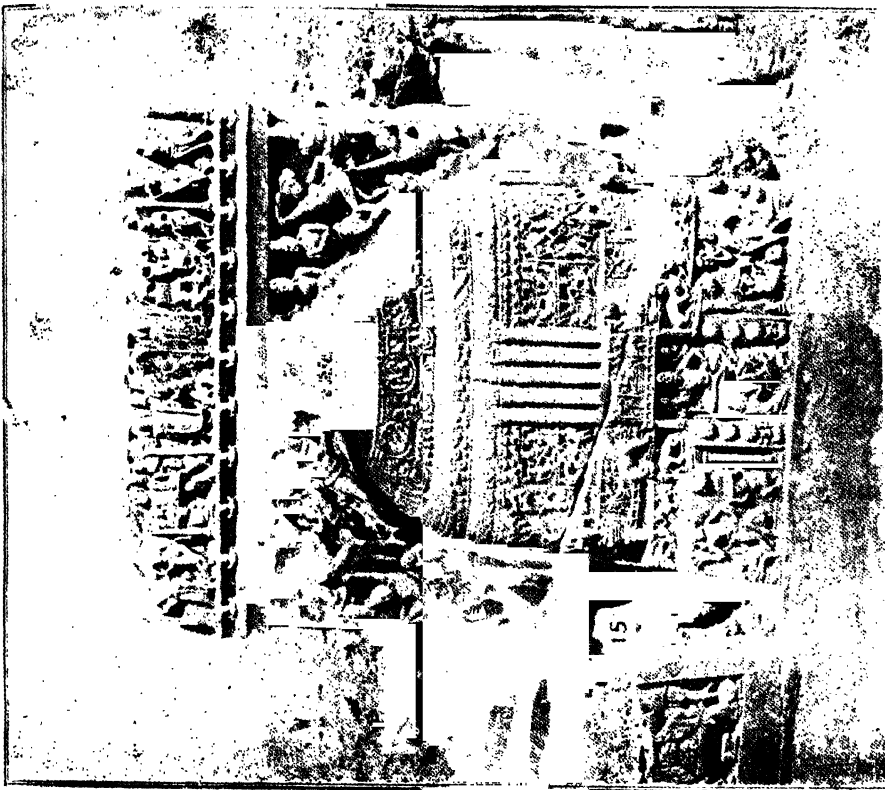


Plate V.

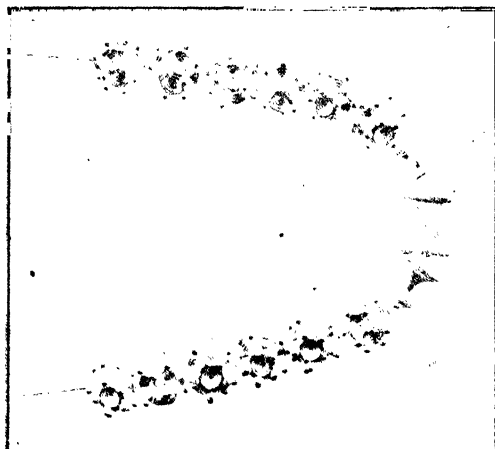
Sculptures Nos. 18 and 19.

Two Cornice Slabs containing Scenes from Buddha's life.





A Garland of Gold Necklace,
found in a pot unearthed at
Ramireddipalli, from the stupa mound



[These Two blocks were lent by kind courtesy of Mr.,K. Nageswara Rao Pantulu, Proprietor, Bharati.

A brief description of the several Sculptures is given below, illustrating a few of the important Sculptures and Inscriptions:—

Sculpture No. 1⁵:—(Vide plates 3 and 4), is a marble slab nearly 4 feet in height showing the figure of a Stupa with all its decorations. It encases the mound towards where the keeper stands. A Stupa is a mound or funeral pile over the sacred relics of Buddha. It is called Dagoba or Dhatugarbha which means a relic-dome. Every stupa consists of a circular or square base supporting a dome on which stands a square block or neck to hold a relic, crowned by a capital or head portion. Above this will be found the umbrella or spire with one or more roofs. The stupas are generally enclosed amidst rails which are decorated with relief sculptures and connected by means of stone gates or *tôraṇās*. The art of the various sculptures is purely religious and artistic, and the spirit of it is Indian purely. But certain models of dress and form seem to have been borrowed from the Greeco-Roman Style. The subjects for the sculptures are all taken from the life of the Founder. In addition, worship of religious symbols, processions to holy places and jataka tales are all depicted. (Vide plate 5.) For instance, the dream of Maya, the mother of Buddha, the conversion of people, the preachings of Buddha to his disciples are all depicted. The earliest Buddhist creed—the Hināyana form—was non-idolatrous. Then came a stage when the early Buddhists resembled the Greeks in representing divinity of Buddha in *human form*. The Buddhist monks practised this kind of art not for vulgar amusement but for spiritual improvement. They also depicted the several beauties of Nature because they considered that all forces of Nature were symbols of their faith. Art and religion thus existed side by side. (Vide the illustrations.)

In course of time, the artist monks were no longer satisfied with erecting stupas but they encased them with marble painted sculptures on which scenes from Buddha's life, and scenes from Nature were all depicted.

Sculpture No. 1 is a bas relief encircling the base of the great stupa. It is an illustration of a miniature stupa. As in Amaravati sculptures, so here, we find Buddha as a divine being receiving worship and he resembles the Gāndhāra Buddha. He is seated here at the bottom in a porch defended by four lions.

The seated Buddha is preaching to devotees. There is also a standing figure in flowing robes, evidently Buddha standing and preaching to devotees who are also standing and listening with great attention. As usual, we find on the dome of the stupa five pilasters and on either side we get again scenes from Buddha's life.

Sculpture No. 2 also depicts the figure of a stupa but while in No. 1 the central figure is a seated Buddha, here the central figure is the Dharma chakra or wheel of law which formed the subject of discourse of Buddha's first sermon. At the bottom, we see both Buddha and Dharmachakra.

Sculpture No. 3 is a white marble pillar of nearly four feet in height and rectangular in shape. It shows the figure of a throne in the centre and contains beautiful sculpture resembling the snake curls.

Sculpture No. 4 again contains the figure of a stupa as in No. 2.

Sculpture No. 5 is again a marble pillar containing sculptures as in No. 3.

Sculpture No. 6 shows a stupa but here the Buddha is standing with his head supported by the wheel. His dress reminds us of the greek style of wearing upper robes. Besides religious scenes from Buddha's life, this sculpture contains hunting scenes, lions, tigers etc.

Sculpture No. 7 is also a stupa but the Buddha is seated here.

Sculpture No. 8 is the same as No. 3.

Sculpture No. 9 shows again a stupa.

Sculpture No. 10 is again a marble pillar like No. 3 but its sculpture is very nice. We find lotus creepers and hunters on lions at the top while at the bottom we see devotees with chāmaras in hand worshipping some religious object like throne. We also see two devotees seated with folded hands showing great reverence. On either side of the corner, at bottom, we see two couchant deers. The whole sculpture presents an excellent combination between Art and Religion.

Sculptures Nos. 11 and 12 depict stupas as in 6 and 7 above.

Sculpture No. 13 (vide Plate 2) is a white marble pillar, 4 feet high, containing at top a seated Dhyāna Buddha with his head protected by a five hooded Nāga. This alliance between Nāga and Buddha is an old one and it indicates that Buddhism had its first and ardent supporters in the Nāga tribe which at one time dwelt in the central and N. India and gradually penetrated to the south of India. The Andhras like the Nāgas were also ardent followers and patrons of Buddhist faith. No wonder therefore that as in Amravati, so in Ramireddipalli and other sculptures also, the Buddhist figures are always depicted with the single hooded or three hooded or five hooded Nāga protecting them. While the hoods protect the head all round, the coils and the tail give support to the body. To the left of the seated figure is a stand like object. Could it represent a Bo-tree? Below the seated figure is a standing figure of Buddha, 3 feet high. At the top of his head is found the Dharma Chakra or Wheel of Law. The hair is curly. The ear-lobes are long. The eyes are closed. The right hand is hanging loose, the palm facing out, while the left hand is raised clasping a flowing garment, an upper cloth which passes from right hand, across body into the raised left hand. The feet are placed in a lotus,

10 petals of which can be seen outside. At the corners, on each side of the feet, can be found a couchant deer facing the figure. At the bottom, directly under the right hand and below the couchant deer, can be seen a reclining devotee wearing a turban and folded robes. His right leg is folded back under the thigh, while the hands are raised to offer respect. Underneath the lotus and in front of the seated figure is a Sanskrit inscription of four lines written in Vengi Characters of 5th century A.D. (Vide the *Sāṅkīyana Plates of Nandivarma* edited by me in Vol. I, Pt. II of J. A. H. R. S.) But this does not mean that the stupa also was of the same period. The Stupa must be much older. It might belong to first or second century A.D., if not earlier and this is supported by the discovery of the Prakrit inscriptions in Brāhmi Characters on the margin of two pieces of a broken frieze excavated from the mound itself. These Prākṛit inscriptions record the construction of a mahāchaitya by a native of Dakṣiṇapatha and mention Khandavisa of Mugiyas.⁶ Similar inscriptions were found near the Buddhist Stupas at Jaggayapeta and Amaravati and other places. From the Buddhist stupa at Jaggayapeta, a similar stone statue of Buddha, dressed in Greeco-Roman style was obtained and placed in the Madras Govt. Museum. Under the statue is found a similar Sanskrit inscription stating that Chandra Prabhācharya, a disciple of Jayāprabhācharya who was in turn a disciple of Nāgārjunācharya had constructed the image or statue of Buddha.

The four lined Sanskrit inscription found underneath the figure of Buddha at Ramreddipalli is given below:—

It is 10 inches long at the top and 9 inches at bottom. Its width is 4 inches. The characters are clear and bold except in two or three places.

TEXT 7

1. Svasti³ Achārya Mougalyāyanasya priyaśishyasyācharya (Dha)
2. rmma dévasya śishyēṇa Śrāmaṇaka Rāhulēna Bhagavatah
3. Pratimā pratishṭā pitā Sarvva satvānāmanuttarajī
4. vāvāptaye yadhatra puṇyam sarvvaṃ chaitya saṅghasya.⁹

6. Vide Annual Report of S. I. Ep. for 1927, P. 42.

7. From the impressions taken from the stone and from Photo of Inscription.

8. Represented by a symbol.

9. I must thank Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi for helping me with regard to some readings in this line.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! *Srāmaṇaka* (Monk) *Rāhula*, the disciple of *Achārya* (Guru) *Dharma dēva*, who was the dear disciple of *Achārya Maugalyāyana* founded the image (statue) of (Buddha) *Bhagavan* (God), so that all living beings might have no more future births. Whatever merit accrues, all that belongs to *Chaitya Saṅgha*.

Sculptures Nos. 14, 15, 16 and 17 are all found in plate III, marked as such. Except sculpture No. 16 which is the same as sculpture No. 3 showing one couchant deer at each corner facing a central throne and a standing devotee on each side, the other sculptures are all alike in general design but differ in certain details. Thus sculpture 14 resembles the sculpture in plate IV, with regard to the containing of *Dharma Chakra* or Wheel of Law in the central panel and its worship by devotees on each side and at the bottom. But sculptures 15 and 17 contain a seated Buddha at the entrance. At each top corner, there is a *Vidyādhara* while at bottom are found two devotees in kneeling posture. On all the sculptures are found the usual five pilasters on the dome and on either side of the pilasters we got scenes of hunting or preaching, depicted. It is curious that several figures of animals and human beings could be so skilfully and beautifully portrayed on the marble which is conveniently marked off into so many compartments by walls or pillars of partition. At the summit of the stupa on either side (Fig 15) a crowd of adoring spirits—*Vidyādharas* hover round and dance as in joy. The summit is marked by a Bo-tree within rails. There is frieze work all over the stupa. The top most frieze contains on either extremity a couple of lovers standing in a peculiar posture. Viewing from left to right, we get (1) Buddha sitting on a throne and preaching to seated devotees (2) Buddha standing, head placed in a wheel of Law, dress flowing and in folds after *Gāndhāra* fashion, and preaching to standing devotees. (3) Buddha standing as in (2). By his side there is an empty throne, and close to it there are a few women standing. Thus altogether there are 5 compartments in the whole frieze work.

Sculptures Nos. 18 and 19 (plate V) one below the other, are 2 beautifully worked out cornice slabs round the plinth of the Buddhist stupa. These sculptures depict in purely Indian spirit two scenes each, taken from Buddha's life. Between scene and scene are found pillars of partition containing between them a loving couple. Sculpture 18 has two such couples of lovers depicted and two scenes relating to Buddha's life. The scene to the right relates to a procession in which three horses carrying a rider each and two elephants with their Princely riders attended by two attendants are seen. The scene to the left points out a Buddha seated on the throne attended by a standing figure on either side, half a dozen cross-legged sitting devotees whose

feelings are evidently disturbed and a kneeling Elephant with a servant on its side carrying some object in his hands. The rider and his followers are also dejected. Could it be that the elephant trampled some one and Buddha was trying to console the parties? Sculpture No. 19 has also two scenes separated by a couple of lovers. The right scene contains a Buddha seated on his throne. On each side there is a standing attendant and a sitting devotee worshipping the throne. On each side are found four devotees sitting cross legged. Evidently, Buddha is preaching a sermon which they are attentively following. The scene to the left contains in the centre a royal figure attended on each side by a female probably the queen and all the three are sitting on a long sofa-like structure. Behind the royal figure and on either side can be seen an attendant with a chāmara in hand. At the top corners on either side can be seen a couple of female attendants. Below are found ten female attendants wearing jewels for the head, neck, ear, wrist and ankle. Each figure is gracefully cut out so that the whole scene is fascinating. This scene is one of joy as opposed to the scene of sorrow depicted in Sculpture No. 18. The whole party may be a dancing party because at the right hand corner of this scene one female is playing on flute while another holds a harp.

Sculpture 20 is a stupa.

Sculpture 21 is a pillar like No. 3.

Sculpture 22 is a stupa containing a seated Buddha with the right hand raised as in preaching. There is a hunting scene depicted at top while below are found two rows on each side showing riding scenes.

Sculptures 23-26 are like sculpture No. 3. The central figure is a Buddhist symbol (Bo-tree?) worshipped by devotees. At the top is a lion ridden by hunter and below are two deers at the corners in a couchant position.

Sculpture 27 is again a stupa.

Sculptures 28-31 are like sculpture No. 3.

Sculptures 32, 34, 35 are again stupas.

Sculptures 33, 36, 37 and 38 are pillars like 23-26.

Sculpture 39 is a six-sided white marble pillar, 5 ft. high. It was discovered in a circular enclosure of black-stones containing prākṛit inscriptions.

Sculpture 40 is represented by the semi-circular black stones which must have formed the ring fence of an enclosure containing the white marble pillar.

LITERARY GLEANINGS

By M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI, M.A.

No. 9 *Bilvamangalasvāmin.*

मन्दारमञ्जरीस्यन्दिमकरन्दरसब्धयः । कस्यनाह्लादनायालं कर्णामृतकवेर्गिरिः ॥

Gangādevī.

Section I.

The history of the devotional literature in Sanskrit presents us two distinct phases in its growth. The first phase represents a period when the grand heroic exploits of Śiva and Pārvati were sung, which excite *vīra* and *adbhuta* passions of the heart and the sentiment of pure love is subordinated to the omnipotent grandeur of philosophical conception. The second stage covers the period that exhibited the tender loves of Krishna, the earthly representation of God Vishnu and his numerous consorts, where the popular mind first indulging in the crust of carnal love is slowly elevated to the identity of all-pervading self. In the language of philosophy the first path is *rājasa* while the second is *rajas-sattva*. Roughly 1000 A. D. divides the two phases above-named though there are and must be over-lappings. Amṛtadatta of the 9th century sings in a far superior style in the strain of Jayadeva or Rupa-gosvāmin of later date, while Nilakanṭha of the 17th century extols the heroism of Śiva. Bāṇa, Bhavabhūti, Daṇḍin, Halāyudha, Maḥaṇa, Ratnākara etc., represent the first phase; while Amṛtadatta, Lilāśuka, Jayadeva, Chaitanya and a number of Go-svamins adorn the second epoch.

The development of Indian philosophy partly affected or produced this change. Saivism was in various forms in ascendant from the sixth to the twelfth century. Intent study of Bhāgavata combined with the theories of Prabhākara and Rāmānuja with regard to the reality of the Universe, prepared the popular mind to receive the doctrines of *bhakti* and *love*. This state began from the 12th century. During the transition period great thinkers like Bhoja modified the conceptions of love and elevated it from carnal lust to the ethereal regions of *aesthetics* and then of philosophy. The latter half of his Śrngāraprakāśa has achieved it. Lilāśuka or Bilvamangala and Jayadeva were pioneers in the application of love and poetry to the service of the philosophy of devotion or *bhakti*, which took a different form in the hands of Chaitanya and Rūpa. The following paras are intended to trace the history of one of these pioneers who installed Sri Krishna for ever in the hearts of both the learned and the masses. ,

Bilvamangala is known to the world through his Krishna-karṇāmṛta, the lyrics of which are sung during the public festivals and dinners. He is known as Krishnalilāsuka in South India. His popularity is so great that he became the poet of every part of India and his birth-place is claimed by every one to his country. Tradition ascribes to him no definite place of birth, but the origin of his learning and deep devotion to god was attributed to a dancing girl called Chintāmaṇi, in whose love he forgot all world. Chintāmaṇi is said to have lived near Somagiri, somewhere about Jagannātha. The Bengalis claim him to be the native of their land. The Uriyas have devoted the 13th Skandha of Bhāgavata to the glorification of Bilvamangala, whose name is accounted for by the presence of a bilva tree in the front of the house of his nativity. The Andhras identify the hill Vedādri, on the bank of the Krishna, as his austere abode. The Karnāṭa writers own him as the resident of Dvāraśamudra, the old capital of the Bhallala kings on the west coast. Perhaps the other parts of India are equally assiduous to appropriate the sage's glory to their land. We shall sift the available materials.

The most popular work of Lilāsuka is his Krishna-karṇāmṛta. It was written in three books each containing a hundred verses. A number of works on various subjects have come to light which bear his authorship: in Sanskrit and Prakrit Grammar, Upanishads, Tantras, Kavyas and devotional lyrics his works are now extant. In Sanskrit grammar, he wrote a commentary called Puruṣhakāra on Daiva of the Grammarian Deva. Bhojadeva produced a grammatical work in aphorisms containing eight chapters of four *padas* each and it is called Sarasvatī-kanthābharana. Bilvamangala wrote an elaborate commentary on it and named it Krishna-lilā-vinoda. *Subanta-Samrājya* and *Tiñanta-Samrājya* are two grammatical works of the type of Siddhānta-kaumudī, which bear resemblance to Bilvamangala's style and devotion. Govinda-abhisheka or Sri-chinḥa-kavya is his prakrit poem of the type of Bhaṭṭikavya which was written to illustrate the sutras of Vararuchi's Prakrit grammar, in which the first eight chapters or sargas were composed by Bilvamangala while the latter four were finished by his disciple, Durgāprasāda. He is also the author of a commentary on the Śāṅkara-bhāṣya on Kenopanishat and it is called Śāṅkara-hṛdayangamā. Kramadipikā is his tantric work treating of Krishna's worship enumerating various rites. There is another work of the same name by a different author. Of his poems we have obtained only Kālavadhā in three sargas. A number of stotras noted for fine thought and expression were written by Lilāsuka. Gaṇapati, Karkoṭaka, Rāmachandra, Abhava, Bālakrishna, Brindāvana, Krishna, and Dakṣiṇāmurti are the deities whose stotras are now available. Many of these lyrics are the finest in the language.

We shall see whether these works can guide us to find his place and time. Durgāprasāda not only completed the Govindābhisheka but wrote a commentary on all the 12 sargas. What does he say of his guru?

कोदण्डमङ्गलवचोगदिते हि धाम्नि श्रीकृष्णदर्शनपरः किल कर्णभृत्यः ।

जातः क्रमेण परहंसपदे स्थितो ऽस्मिन्यो ऽङ्कस्थितस्तमवलोक्य जगाम तृप्तिम् ॥

श्रीपद्मपादमुनिर्वर्यविनेयवर्गश्रीभूषणं मुनिरसौ कविसार्वभौमः ।

श्रीकृष्णरूपपरमामृतपानशीलश्चक्रे तदीयचरितं बहुधा हिताय ॥ 1st Sarga.

श्रीकृष्णलीलाशुकबद्धकाव्यं विवृत्य लोकस्य हिताय पूर्वम् ।

तच्छेषपूर्तिं च पुनर्विधाय विवृतमहे ऽथोत्तरभागमेतम् ॥ 9th Sarga.

मुक्तिस्थलालयशिवापदभक्तिलेशार्दुगप्रसादयतिरित्यभिधां दधानः ।

कर्ता स्वयं सुकृतमात्रफलान्यभीप्सुः कृष्णे ऽर्पयाम्यथ विशुद्धिकरा महान्तः ॥

12th Sarga.

चापमङ्गलधरो जईसरो बिल्वमङ्गलधरो व होइ जो ।

मज्झ एस परिआरकालणा भम्मदं उपगच्छोपसीअट ॥

(चापमङ्गलगृहो यतीश्वरः बिल्वमङ्गलगृहो वा भवति यः ।

मम एष परिचारकारणाद् ब्रह्मतामुपगतः प्रसीदतु ॥)

Thus it is clear that Lilāsuka was a *sannyasin* and his house name before his initiation was Kodanḍa-mangala or Chāpa-mangala. The second verse affords a hint that he was a disciple of Padmapādācharya's descent. Durgāprasāda belonged to a place called *Muktisthala*. Now what is meant by Bilvamangala? Can it have any connection with Kodanḍamangala? Yes. Bilva is the northern pronunciation for vilva which in Malayalam means 'of bow'. Vil is the common word in all the Dravidian languages meaning a bow; vilva is its attributive form in Malayalam. So Bilvamangalasvāmin would mean a *sannyāsin* who was born of the family of Vilvamangala. Durga himself calls him Lilāsuka; so the identity can be easily inferred. Padmapāda established a *maṭha* at Trichur in Cochin State and many of the Mss. found therein contain the superscript *Vilvamangalatte*. Now where is Muktisthala? Is it Jagannatha? Or some place in Malabar might have been known by that name. It may be *Mukkuttala* 10 miles south of Svetāraṇya. If it is Jagannatha it may be held that Durga must have sought and obtained Bilvamangala's

favours at Puri. In the Ganapati-stotra the author refers to particular deity located at Dorasamudra immediately to the east of the western sea (The Arabian sea).

Dorasamudra mentioned is the famous Dvārasamudra, the capital of the Bhallalas which was destroyed by Mallik Kafur. The commentary on the Bhashya of Kena-upanishat begins thus:—

तत्त्वं किमपि कृष्णस्य समुत्तीर्णजगद्भ्रमम् । स्वप्रभं सुखसाम्राज्यं स्वादते स्वादिमावधि ॥
वन्दे भगवतीं गङ्गां तुङ्गां भगवतस्तनुम् । उन्मज्जन्ति निमज्जन्ति यस्यां भुवनवीचयः ॥
केनेषितपोपनिषदः कृष्णलीलाशुको मुनिः । आचार्यवचसां चार्थमाह वीक्ष्य विवक्षितम् ॥
विवृतिं द्वयतत्त्वज्ञा वेदव्याख्यासु शिक्षिताः । परवाक्यप्रमाणज्ञाः परीक्षन्तामिमां क्रमात् ॥

The verse in praise of Gangā may suggest that he was near by it when he wrote it; probably at Banaras. His poem of Kālavadha relates the story of Siva's conquest of Yama when he approached Markandeya who embraced the Sivalinga for shelter. But the story though of common lore has a special reference to Svetāranya which is identified as Tirunāvāy in British Malabar three miles from Edakolam Railway station. The poet mentions the river Nilā by its side as called by the Keralas by the name of *śiśu* or Vālayār. The verse is:—

शिशुसरितं वदन्ति सरितं तव पार्श्वचरीम् ।

Vasudeva, the son of famous Mimansaka, Payyur Patteri devotes two lines for the description of the same place, in his Chakorasandēśa.

धामोदन्वच्छशिदिशि गते योजनानां त्रये तं
नावाक्षेत्रं श्रितनिलमपि श्वेतपूर्वाटवी सा ।

Svetāranya or Tirunāvāy was called in Sthalamahattva Dakṣhiṇa-Kailāsa. With these scraps let his Balakrishna stotra be examined. It was uttered by Krishna himself (through his sportive parrot, Līlāśuka). The young God sang it on his flute. We shall hear its melody or historical graces.

आदित्यप्रशंसंज्ञं यदादित्यादधिकं महः । निर्जितः समदृष्ट्यैव निलोलं येन मन्मथः
अर्जितैरस्तकुसुमैरारादाराधयन् ययौ ॥ ईशानदेव इत्यासीदिशानो मुनितेजसाम् ।
आस्पदस्य हि यस्यासीदशेषगुणसंपदाम् । अद्वितीय इति रव्यातिरात्मबुद्ध्या न केवलम् ॥
तथोरनुग्रहापाङ्गसंक्रान्तज्ञानसागराः । सागरा इव गम्भीराः सन्ति धन्याः सहस्रशः ॥

तयोरेव कृपापात्रं कृष्णलीलाशुको मुनिः । यदाश्रमाङ्गणे नित्यं रमन्ते तन्तविस्तराः ॥
 तिलकं कुलपालीनां नीलीति नित्यं श्रियाम् । यमलं जनयां चक्रे यं च कीर्तिं च शाश्वतीम् ॥
 यस्य दामोदरो नाम सविता सवितृसन्निभः । अतृणस्य हि यस्यासन्नधमर्णा मरुद्गणाः ॥
 यस्य तत्प्रियसर्वस्वं राघवेशानसंज्ञकम् । विनेयः सविधेयानां सुहृत्.....॥
 यस्य दक्षिणकैलासलीलापरिणतं महः । चर्चाचन्दनगन्धेन सुगन्धयति मानसम् ॥
 कृष्णलीलाशुकास्यास्य किशोरमधिदैवतम् । स्तुतिरत्नमिदं ब्रूते वेणुवादिमुखेन्दुना ॥

The verses are fine; poetic thought is singularly happy. Let it go. what are the empty bones of history? Līlāsuka was a friend of Rāghaveśa; his father was Damodara and Nīlī was his mother. He had only one sister, Fame, born of them. He was a pupil of Īśānadeva and his guru was Ādityapragna, who was worshipped by Cupid who had come to offend him with the same flowery arrows. The pupils of Īśānadeva and Ādityapragna were many who became *Gnānasāgaras*, the oceans of knowledge. In the abodes of Īśāna and Āditya *Tantra-vidyas* had their sport. Lastly the divine lustre of the deity of Dakṣiṇa-Kailāsa with his sandal paste bestowed radiance and fragrance on the mind of Līlāsuka. How can a *sannyāsin* think of his antecedents? He does not; it is Krishna in him that flutes these lines.

Certain order of *sannyāsins* bear names ending in *pragna*; e.g. Nṛsimhapragna, the author of beautiful commentary on Sureśvara's *Aranyavārtika*, which is more helpful to us than even Ānadagiri's paraphrase. Īśānadeva may be identified with Īśānaśivaguru, the author of *Gurudevapaddhati*, a large tantra work available in print. Rāghaveśa may be different from his namesake who was a profuse writer on Dvaita-vedānta. Our Rāghaveśa was perhaps the Advaita commentator on Bhāgavata, available in Mss. Does Līlāsuka mention his parents or guru elsewhere? Yes, the last verse of Krishna-karṇāmṛta proclaims the same. We shall read it from a Malabar Ms.

ईशानदेवचरणाभरणेन नीलीदामोदरस्थिरयशःस्तवकोद्गमेन ।

लीलाशुकेन रचितं तव देव कृष्ण कर्णामृतं बहवु कल्पशतान्तरेऽपि ॥

But the Telugu printed text reads the first line thus :—

ईशानदेवचरणाभरणेन नीवी etc—at the end of the first *śataka*.

The commentator on *Karṇāmṛta*, a native of the Telugu country and of the 17th century, takes the word as *Nivī* instead of *Nīlī*. The error can be easily explained in two ways; 1. strong resemblance in Mss. of *lī* and *vī*. 2. the first impression of the words Īśānadeva and

Damodara meaning as *Siva* and *Vishnu* respectively. These two incidents baffled the commentator who never troubled himself with the history of literature.

The above quotations lead to the conclusion that Līlāsuka might be a native of Malabar but he travelled all over India and his intense devotion to Krishna gained him all hearts which owned him.

With regard to his time his commentary on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Bhojadeva places him after 1060 A.D. Mādhava quotes from his *Purushakāra* in his *Dhātuvṛtti* which makes Līlāsuka prior to that writer, that is 1350 A.D. Īśānadeva, if our identification is correct, lived about 1100 and the Līlāsuka must be placed about two decades later. But in his *Purushakara* he quotes from Kshīrasvāmin, Kavi, kāmadhenu, Durga, Bhoja, Hemachandra, Haradatta and Hariyogin. Of these Kshīrasvamin lived after Bhoja. Durga was older than him for he was quoted by Kshīra. Hema flourished about 1150 A.D. Haradatta seems to have lived about 1000 A.D. His history, *Haradattācharya-charita* is found in the palace Library of Tanjore. A reference to it may throw further light on his date.

How-ever Līlāsuka cannot be placed earlier than 1250 and later than 1350 A.D.

Bopadeva, the author of *Kavi Kāmadhenu* was a contemporary of Hemadri who flourished in the court of Sevana Ramachandra, who succeeded Mahadeva in 1271 A.D.

We shall devote the next section to his poetic genius or the intensity of his devotion.

(To be continued.)

REVIEWS.

The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara

By The REV. HENRY HERRAS, S. J., M. A.

With a preface by *Sir R. C. Temple.*

Vol. I, Published by B. J. Paul & Co., Madras 1927.

This new work was written by Rev. Herras as the third number in the Studies in Indian History of Indian Historical Research Institute which, I think, is also publishing a quarterly Journal of Research. It is based on, 1. Unpublished contemporary sources and 2. Published sources like Inscriptions, articles, coins, accounts of travels, tradition and literature. The bibliographical introduction consists of 44 pages showing that the author took pains to study almost all the available source-materials on the subject. It is hoped that the manuscript work *Araveeti Vari Vamsavali* written in Telugu and consisting of traditional, literary and inscriptional evidences was also made use of.

The 26 chapters of the book proper, containing 554 pages of matter, are illustrated with 17 plates and at the end of the book are found 4 appendices (about 90 pages) containing a persian poem and original documents bearing on the subject and an index of about 40 pages.

It must be said that this is a great task worthy of the learned Father, requiring not a little painstaking but interesting historical research in the field but little touched by other scholars—a field which relates to Andhra History in particular. All Andhra scholars should therefore be interested in welcoming this very useful work which throws a flood of light on the fourth or the last of the Vijayanagara dynasties—viz, the Aravidu.

The author begins his work with the two last kings of the third or the Tuluva dynasty and states that from the death of Achyuta Raya of the Tuluva dynasty in 1542 A.D., the Aravidus rose into power. The enthronement and dethronement of Venkata I, the usurpation of Timma Raju and his defeat at the hands of Rama Raya, the coronation of Sadasiva Raya, the career of Rama Raya, and origin of the Aravidus are all described in the first two chapters. Chapter III deals with the important rule of Sadasiva Raya and the consequent *defacto* rule of his regent Rama Raya. The administration of the Empire as revealed by Frishta's account and contemporary literary sources, is

worth a careful study. We get an account of the relations between Sadasiva Raya and Rama Raya on one side and the Portuguese on the other in Chapter IV and the foreign relations between the Former and the Deccani Sultans in Ch. V. The complicated conspiracies and the final union of all the Deccan Sultans against Vijayanagar, and Rama Raya's plans to avert danger are also described. Chapter VI opens with the following sentence:—In reviewing the history of the Telugu domination over the south of India, the climax of which was reached during the fourth dynasty of Vijayanagara, it is now opportune to give a brief account of the early Telugu Expeditions into the southern dominions which will enable us to understand better the subsequent military exploits of the Aravidu Emperors and of their subordinate Telugu chiefs in those regions." It is noteworthy how a very large number of Telugu poems supplied much useful information. Chapter VII is devoted to an account of the Nayaks of Madura, while chapter VIII deals with the Nayaks of Tanjore, Jingi etc. Chapter IX is a continuation of chapter V and gives an account of the Muhamadan and Hindu armies and relates how, by the treachery of two Muslim captains of Rama Raya, he was captured and beheaded and the Hindu army fled. Chapter X gives the effects of the third battle of Raksas-Tagdi on the history of S. India. Its effect on the capital can still be seen by anybody who visits Hampi ruins. The transfer of capital to Penukonda (Anantapur Dt.), the end of Sadasiva and the state of Empire are also described. The story of the first three rulers of the Aravidu dynasty who ruled after Sadasivaraya's murder viz, Tirumala, Sri Ranga I and Venkata II is described and an account of the Tamil and Kanarese viceroyalties and Madura and Tanjore Nayakships is given in Chapters XI to XXIV, while the two concluding chapters give an interesting account of the literary activity under Aravidu Kings and the struggle between the different religious sects of S. India, respectively.

The Publishers must be congratulated for their excellent get up and moderate price.

R. S. R.

Andhra Vachana Bharatam

By KALULE VEERARAJA.

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This is a work published for the first time now. It is an excellent specimen of Telugu prose as it was spoken and written at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century in the western and southern "Andhra Desa". It is not a mere bald telugu rendering of the original Sanskrit Bharata of Vyasa, but it is a work which displays the originality and the poetic capacity of the author Kalule Veeraraja, the commander-in-chief of Mysore. In the full and critical introduction to the book, written by Mr. N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu, he has dealt with the historical details concerning the life and times of the author of this rare work. He has also, in a supplemental note printed at the end of the volume, given reasons for changing the name of the author to "Kalule Veeraraja" from "Kaluve Veeraraja", as it has been hitherto understood to be. The style of the book is very simple and flowing. The descriptions of nature are beautiful. The Avatars of Sri Krishna are dealt with in an elaborate and original manner. Two excellent plates of original design and artistic workmanship are published in the book. It is a book which can be commended gladly to the lovers of Telugu literature and students of the history of Andhra civilisation and culture.

R. S. R.

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(निःश्वस्य) दृढमस्मि निर्विण्णोऽस्य वयस्यस्यादेशकालोत्पन्नोन्मादव्याधिमुप-
चरन् । य एव प्रथमं हुतशेषैः सकारुचित्रकैः (?) भिक्षाहारैः संवर्द्धितशरीरः
संवृत्तः स एवाहमपि लघूकृतपरदुर्दृष्टिः कडङ्करीयसब्रह्मचारी अलब्धकक्ष्या-
न्तरप्रवेशः कटकप्राघुणिक इव वर्जितशपितव्यवृंहितव्य इतस्तत आहिण्डामि ।
यदि निमन्त्रणकाले निमन्त्रितैर्बाह्यैः सहाभ्यन्तरं प्रविशामि ततः किं मया
प्रतिपत्तव्यम् ? भवतु, अस्य लतामण्डपस्य बाह्यप्रच्छाये मुहूर्तं विश्रमिष्यामि)
(तथा करोति).

(ततः प्रविशति निपुणिका)

निपु — रत्तिप्पआअरकिलन्तसरीरा गहिदकुमुदिणिव्व दिवा णिहं गदा भट्टिदारिआ ।
जाव आवासगदां एव्व भअवदिं जोअसिद्धिं पेख्वामि । सा एव्व णो इमस्सिं
संकटप्पवाहे संकमो भविसिदि । (परिक्रामति).
(रात्रिप्रजागरकान्तशरीरा गर्भितकुमुदिनीव दिवानिद्रां गता भर्तृदारिका ।
तावदावासगतामेव भगवतीं योगसिद्धिं प्रेक्षे । सैव न एतस्मिन् सङ्कटप्रवाहे
सङ्कमो भविष्यति) (परिक्रामति).

(ततः प्रविशति परिव्राजिका)

परि — अप्याजवज्जवसुखान्यवधीरयन्ती
खद्योतवैद्युतरुचिक्षणभङ्गुराणि ।

कृष्णहमीश्वरसुतागुणपाशबन्धै-

बद्धं कलेवरभरं पुनरुद्गहामि ॥ १ ॥

भोः! तथाभूते स्वजनवृत्तान्ते निर्वेदप्रव्रजिताध्यायुषजीविनमात्मानं मन्य-
माना देशादेशान्तरं परिसरन्ती यदृच्छया शूरसेनमथुरां प्राप्य तत्र च कीर्ति-
षेणमहिष्या राजन्वत्या साकमध्याससमावसनकृतसख्या प्रतिवसामि । तदुहि-
तरि मदङ्गसंवर्द्धितायामपत्यस्नेहवती तपोवनाभिमुखीमप्येनामनुगतास्मि । या-
वदेनामनुरक्तपतिं कुलगामिनीं पश्यामि तावत् कुतो मे निःसङ्कता ? कुतः—

आश्रयति माधवी चेदाश्रमसहकारपादपस्कन्धम् ।

स्वार्थक्रीतां लभते निर्द्वितीमारण्यको वर्गः ॥ २ ॥

सा पुनरर्माषु दिवसेषु किञ्चिदकल्यरूपा लक्ष्यते । वक्ति च लोकः—

वनवासमिमं कथं सहेत सा पितुरुत्सङ्गसुखैधिता तथा ।
कृममेष्यति यत्र नैष्ठिकस्तरुवल्कावरणोऽपि तापसः ॥ ३ ॥

अपि च—

क्षणक्षीणौ बाहू च्युतपतितकेयूरवलयौ
परिम्लानावस्थः श्वसनपवनरोष्ठरुचकः ।
निवृत्तस्नानीयः शिरसिजकलापो वपुरभू-
दसूर्यम्पश्यायाः (सरस) निभृतं राजदुहितुः ॥ ४ ॥ इति ।

मम पुनरयं प्रतर्कः । तस्या हि—

जातं विभ्रमदृष्टिपातशबलं पाण्डु द्वयं गण्डयो-
र्गाढे यौवनसोष्मणी स्तनतटे गाढोऽपि चिन्ताज्वरः ।
अव्यक्तस्तनिमा स्वकान्त्युपचयादप्येवमालक्ष्यते
प्रभ्रष्टाभरणप्रदेशविषमेष्वङ्गेष्वनङ्गामयः ॥ ५ ॥

को नु खल्वेष नभसः श्येनचरणभ्रष्टो निपतितश्चित्रपटः ?

दृष्ट्वा नभस्तः शिखिबर्हभारशारोदरं चित्रपटं पतन्तम् ।
अनभ्रसंसर्गमभूतपूर्वमैन्द्रं धनुःखण्डमनुस्मरामि ॥ ६ ॥

भवतु, अमूमिस्पृष्टमेनं सम्भावयामि ।

(गृहीत्वा शिलातले समुपविश्य निर्वर्णयति).

निषु—एत्थ भवदीए लदामंडपं । (प्रविष्टकेनावलोक्य) एस भवदी एकं चित्त-
पडं पेख्वंती सिलाअले गिसण्णा । अहो ! एसो चित्तपडो जो एकंते गिस-
ण्णाणं बहुएहिं आसाबंधेहिं सहीणं आमिसखंडलुद्धेण सेणेण आख्वित्तो ।
(अत्र भगवत्या लतामण्डपम् । —) एषा भगवती एकं चित्रपटं प्रेक्षमाणा
शिलातले निषण्णा । अहो ! एष चित्रपटो य एकान्ते निषण्णानां बहुभि-
राशाबन्धैः सखीनामामिषखण्डलुब्धेन श्येनेनाक्षितः).

परि—महदिदमाकारबद्धं तेजः ! अस्य हि—

खु रत्तिगतो वुत्ततो । (असन्निहितया मया न ज्ञातं तपोवनवासक्लेशक्लान्तशरीरायाः कीदृशः खलु रात्रिगतो वृत्तान्तः ।

मधु—एसा भामिणिआ हिओरत्तीए सह पुरोहिदेहिं देवोपहारं णिव्वत्तिअ चंडिआ-
अअणादो पडिणिवुत्ता । एसा वि रहस्सरखिवणीणं सहीणं मज्जे णिउणिआए
गणिज्जइ । ता इमं वि विदितवुत्तंतं करोमि । (उपेत्य) अइ कुसलं सहीए ?
(एषा भामिनिका । हि ओरत्तीए ? सह पुरोहितैर्देवोपहारं निर्वृत्य चण्डिकाय-
तनतः प्रतिनिवृत्ता । एषापि रहस्यरक्षिणीनां सखीनां मध्ये निपुणिकया
गण्यते । तदिमामपि विदितवृत्तान्तं करोमि । (उपेत्य) अपि कुशलं सख्याः ?)

भामि—अइ, कुदो अह्माणं कुसलावसरो तादिसं भट्टिदारिआए अणिणीदणिदाणं
आतंकं चित्तअंतीणं ? (अयि, कुतोऽस्माकं कुशलावसरस्तादृशं भर्तृदारिकाया
अनिर्णीतनिदानमातङ्कं चिन्तयन्तीनाम् ?)

मधु—जइ एव्वं, णिव्वुदा होहि, णिणीदं से आदंकणिदाणं । (यद्येवम्, निर्वृता
भव, निर्णीतमस्या आतङ्कनिदानम् ।)

भामि—दिट्ठिआ पसंणा भअवदी विञ्झवासिणी । इमस्स सहआररुखवस्स पच्छाये
णिसंणिअ संलवामो ।
(दिष्ट्या प्रसन्ना भगवती विन्ध्यवासिनी । एतस्य सहकारवृक्षस्य प्रच्छाये
निषद्य सल्लपावः).

मधु—एव्वं होदु । (एवं भवतु) (उभे उपविशतः)

भामि—कहेहि ! कहेहि ! (कथय ! कथय !).

मधु—सुणिअदु, हिओरत्तीए किंवि उक्कंठिदा विअ णिस्सेसणिवारिअपरिजणा णिउ-
णिआमेत्तसहीजणा सअणिज्जं गदा भट्टिदारिआ । (श्रूयताम्, हिओरत्तीए ?)
किमपि उत्कण्ठितेव निःशेषनिवारितपरिजना निपुणिकामात्रसखीजना शयनीयं
गता भर्तृदारिका).

भामि—तदो तदो । (ततस्ततः).

मधु—तदो जाव अणंतरसअणिज्जं गदा ओसुत्ता णिउणिआ दाव उक्कंठिदाए
अणिदाए णिव्विणोदाए कहंवि एकस्सं जोह्मा सहे पडंते संणिहिदेहिं

वण्णएहिं एक्को वंमहजंमतराकिदी कुमारो आलिहिदी ताव पडिबुद्धाए
णिउणिआए दिट्ठा कमलमुउळकोमलं सीसे अज्जलिं गेल्लिअ 'अइ हिअ-
अवल्लभ, णिग्घिणोसि'त्ति भणंती भट्टिदारिआ । पच्चा अह्माणं णिउणि-
आए मंतिदं । (ततो यावदनन्तरशयनीयं गतावसुप्ता निपुणिका तावदुत्कण्ठि-
तया अनिद्रया निर्विनोदया कथमपि ज्योत्स्नाश्लक्षणे पटान्ते सन्निहितैर्वर्णकै-
रेको मन्मथजन्मान्तराकृतिः कुमार आलिखितः । तावत् प्रतिबुद्धया निपुणि-
कया दृष्टा कमलमुकुलकोमलं शीर्षेऽज्जलिं गृहीत्वा 'अयि हृदयवल्लभ, निर्घृ-
णोऽसि' इति भणन्ती भट्टिदारिका । पश्चादस्माकं निपुणिकया मन्त्रितम्).

भामि—दिट्ठिआ एव्वं पभादं ! पुढमं एव्व अह्माणं हिअअतुलिओ एसो अत्थो ।
को उण सो ? अहवा को एत्थ विआरो ? णं सो एव्व जो अंमेहिं चंडि-
आअअणे दिट्ठो । (दिष्ट्वैवं प्रभातम् ! प्रथममेवास्माकं हृदयतुलित एषोऽर्थः ।
कः पुनः सः ? अथवा क एष विचारः ? ननु स एव योऽस्माभिश्चण्डिकाय-
तने दृष्टः) .

मधु—अह इं । को अण्णो पुण्णमसचंदं मोत्तूण कुमुदिणीए हिअअवल्लभो ? (अथ
किम् । कोऽन्यः पौर्णमासचन्द्रं मुक्त्वा कुमुदिन्या हृदयवल्लभः ?)

भामि—होदु, अब्भंतंरं एव्व पविसामो । (निष्क्रान्ते).
(भवतु अभ्यन्तरमेव प्रविशावः).

प्रवेशकः.

(ततः प्रविशति विदूषकः)

विदू—(निःश्वस्य) दिढं ह्मि णिव्विण्णो इमस्स वयस्सस्य अदेसकालुप्पुणुंमादव्वाहिं
उवअरंतो । जोच्चिअ पुढमं हुदसेसेहिं सकारुचेत्तहिं भिरुवाहारेहिं संवट्ठिअ-
सरीरो संवुत्तो सोच्चिअ अहं वि लहिअपरदुदिट्ठी कडंगरीअअसब्बंमआरी
अलद्धकज्जंतरप्पवेसो कडअप्पाहुणिओ विअ वंज्जिदसइदं विद्धिदव्वो इदो
तदो आहिंडेमि । जइ णिमंतणकाले णिमंतिदेहिं बल्लणेहिं सह अब्भंतंरं
पविसामि तदो किं मए पडिवत्तव्वं ? होदु, इमस्स लदामंडपस्स बाहिरपच्छाए
मुहचं विस्समिस्सं । (तथा करोति).

अस्याः सखे क्षणमदृश्यत रोमराजी
 स्रस्तेऽशुके स्तनभरान्मृगलोचनायाः ।
 मालेव षट्पदमयी भुवनानि जेतुं
 मौर्वीकृता भगवता मकरध्वजेन ॥ २८ ॥

विदू—ही! ही! पेक्ख पेक्ख, पुंफणिमलो अं ओदणरासी दीसइ । (ही! ही!
 पश्य पश्य, पुष्पनिर्मलोऽयमोदनराशिर्दृश्यते).

कुमा—(दृष्ट्वा) अयं तस्या लतावसक्तपतितः प्रभावर्षी मौक्तिकहारः । आनीयतां तावत् ।

विदू—साहु! ण मौत्तिअआरो वभुस्विदस्स मे ओदणरासी दीसइ । (गृहीत्वोपहरति)
 (साधु! न मौक्तिकहारो बुभुक्षितस्यौदनराशिर्दृश्यते).

कुमा—(हारमादय)

प्रस्थानक्षणसम्भ्रममुक्तं मुक्तास्वरूपेण ।
 परिवृत्तं पश्य सखे किं नु तया विस्मृतं हृदयम् ॥२९॥

विदू—भो वअस्स, अंमाणं कुंभीलाणं (किं भीळूणं?) आकिण्णेण परकेरण गहि-
 देण? (भो वयस्य, अस्माकं कुम्भीराणामाक्रीर्णेन परकीयेन गृहीतेन?)

कुमा—वयस्य, मामेवम् । आस्ते तावदस्माकममुना प्रयाजनम् । पश्य—

मन्दारपुष्पस्तवकाभिरामैः
 सिन्दूरितो नायकरत्नभाभिः ।
 श्रीविभ्रमाम्भोजमृणालकान्ति-
 र्माङ्गल्यहेतोरयमस्तु हारः ॥ ३० ॥

(प्रविश्य चेटः)

चेटः—जेदु मट्टा, गहिदसंभाराम वाआमभूमौ वअव्सगणो पडिपालेदि । (जयतु
 भर्ता, गृहीतसभाराः स्म व्यायामभूमा वयस्यगणः प्रतिपालयति ।)

विदू—उट्टेदु उट्टेदु भवं, कालो वाआमभूमिगमणस्स । (उत्तिष्ठतूत्तिष्ठतु, कालो
 व्यायामभूमिगमनस्य ।)

(सर्वे परिक्रमन्ति)

कुमा — तामेवानुगतं चेतो मुक्तमूलमिदं मम ।
स्रोतोदैर्घ्यवशात्तोयं हृदस्येवावसीदति ॥ ३१ ॥

अपि च—

स्तनकलशघनोष्मणेव तप्तं
पृथुलनितम्बभरादिवावसन्नम् ।
मम हृदयमधिष्ठितं मृगाक्ष्याः
स्फुरदधरप्रभयेव रक्तमासीत् ॥ ३२ ॥

(निष्क्रान्ताः सर्वे)

प्रथमोऽङ्कः

द्वितीयोऽङ्कः

(ततः प्रविशति मधुमञ्जरिका)

मधु—अंमो ! पञ्चासण्णो दाणिं कुसुमसरसिबिरसंनिवेशसंणिभो महुमासो । जइ साहा-
गोलंवा सिळीमुहसणाहा वंमहसिहिसंणिभा कुसुमगुच्छा दीसंति असोअरु-
स्वाणं । हद्धि ! वंमहसरदूमिअहिअआए भट्टिदारिआए पडिऊळदंस्सेणा महु-
मासो ।

(अंहो ! प्रत्यासन्न इदानीं कुसुमशरशिविरसन्निवेशसन्निभो मधुमासः । यथा-
शाखाप्रावलम्बाः शिलीमुखसनाभा मन्मथशिलिसन्निभाः कुसुमगुच्छकाः दृश्य-
न्तेऽशोकवृक्षाणाम् । हा धिक् ! मन्मथशरधूमितहृदयाया भर्तृदारिकायाः
प्रतिकूलदर्शनो मधुमासः ।

(प्रविश्य भामिनिका)

भामि—असंणिहिदाए मए ण जाणिदं तपोवणवासकिळेसकिळंतससीराए केरिसो

कुमा—अशक्यारम्भप्रवृत्तं तत्रभवन्तं मथुरेश्वरं पश्यामि—

इदं किलाविष्कृतकान्तिविप्लवं
तुषारवातातपदर्शनेष्वपि ।
शरीरमुद्यानशिरीषपेलवं
तपोवनक्लेशसहं भविष्यति ॥ २३ ॥

कीर्ति—(आत्मगतम्) हृद्धी धीलक्षणं हिअस्स ! जणप्पढिसिद्धप्पसरा वि पुणो पुणो
तहि एव दिट्ठी सज्जइ । (हा धिक् धीरत्वं हृदयस्य । जनप्रतिषिद्धप्रस-
रापि पुनः पुनस्तत्रैव दृष्टिः सज्जते ।

चेटी—जेदु भट्टिदारिआ, सीसरइअंजलिपुडो सिंहलओ विण्णवेदि—कप्पिदं आ-
वासट्ठाणं, भअवदीए जोअसिद्धीए अभिप्पेदं एदं एव पवेसमुहुत्तअं ति ।
(जयतु भर्तृदारिका, शीर्षरचिताञ्जलिपुटः सिंहलको विज्ञापयति—कल्पितमा-
वासस्थानम्, भगवत्या योगसिध्याभिप्रेतमेतदेव मुहूर्तकमिति).

कांचु—देवि, आपृच्छ्यतां महामागः ; गच्छामो वयम् ।

कुमा—गम्यतां पुनर्दर्शनाय । न विस्मरणीयोऽयमनुषङ्गदृष्टो जनः ।

कीर्ति—(कुमारं कटाक्षेणावलोकयन्ती सपरिवारा निष्क्रान्ता).

कुमा— गता प्रिया प्रस्तुतचित्तरागै-
रारेचितभ्रूललितैरपाङ्गैः ।
कर्षत्यसौ मानसमस्मदीयं
मयि स्वमात्मानमुत्तर्पयन्ती ॥ २४ ॥

कथमियमस्या मार्गलता गमनविघ्नमाचरति ?

परिवृत्तमुखी नरेन्द्रकन्या
विटपोत्कम्पितभङ्गुरोत्तरीया ।
स्तनयोरनयोर्नताङ्गयष्टिः
स्मरसर्वस्वसमुद्गयोर्भरेण ॥ २५ ॥

कथमेषा वक्रामोदप्रसक्तं मधुकरयुवानं लीलारविन्देन निवारयन्ती हन्त !
अन्तर्हिता तरुसङ्कटे ।

याता नितम्बगुर्वी

यावद्यावन्मृगेक्षणा दूरम् ।

बिंबितगात्रीवान्त-

स्तावत्तावदवगाढा मे ॥ २६ ॥

(पर्युत्सुकस्तिष्ठति) (प्रविश्य विदूषकः)

विदू—मअधप्षच्चंतवासिणं सवरपुलिंदाणं कुंजरएण पुरुसो पेसिदो—जह भणइ
अंअमंतगुत्तो तह होदव्वं ति । जाव चंडिआअदणजिण्णुज्जाणगदं वअस्सं
उवसप्पामि । (मगधप्रत्यन्तवसिनां शबर (?) पुलिन्दानां कुञ्जरकेण पुरुषः
-प्रेषितः— यथा भणति आर्यमन्त्रगुप्तः तथा भवितव्यमिति । यावत् चण्डि
कायतनजीर्णोद्धानगतं वयस्यमुपसर्पामि)।

(उपेत्य) जेदु वअस्सो । (जयतु वयस्यः)।

कुमा — (विदूषकं हस्ते गृहीत्वा) सखे वैखानस,

स्वप्नोपनता लक्ष्मीः

प्राप्ता गन्धर्वनगररेखा या ।

प्रादुर्भूय नृपसुता

भूयः सहसा तिरोभूता ॥ २७ ॥

विदू—का सा राअदारिआ णाम ? (का सा राजदारिका नाम ?)

कुमा—एवमिव ।

विदू—अविहा ! अंधस्सकूपपतणं संवुत्तम्, पुव्वं रज्जणासो तते इत्थिआतंतुणा
(बंधणं) । (हा ! अन्धस्य कूपपतनं संवृत्तम्, पूर्वं राज्यनाशः ततः स्त्रीतन्तुना
(बन्धनम्) ।

कुमा—वैखानस, मा भैवम् ; इतस्तथा प्रस्थितायाः—

दर्पणगतमिः सवितुः पटान्तरचितं महानुभावस्य ।
प्रतिबिम्बमिः प्रतिमुखपतितं प्रतिहन्ति मे दृष्टिम् ॥ ७ ॥

(पुनः सावधानं दृष्ट्वा) हा ! महादेवि, (मोहं गता).

निपु—हद्वि ! चित्तपडं पेरुवन्ती हा ! महादेवि त्ति मोहं गदा भवदी । महत्तेण उप्पादेण होदव्वं । (सहसोपसृत्य तामुत्सङ्गेनादाय) समस्ससिहि समस्ससिहि । (हा! धिक्, चित्रपटं प्रेक्षमाणा हा ! महादेवि इति मोहङ्कता भगवती । महतो-त्पातेन भवितव्यम् । (—) समाश्वसिहि समाश्वसिहि ।

परि—(ईषदिव समाश्वस्य) हा ! महादेवि, तदा तुए पदिलोअं पत्थिदाए जो मम हत्थे णिस्वित्तो, जो पडिपरुवभयादो चलकाकपरुवओ अवमहरेहिं अमच्च-कुमारेहिं कल्लाणसिरी । (पुनरपि मूर्च्छिता) (हा ! महादेवि, तदा त्वया पति-लोकं प्रस्थितया यो मम हस्ते निक्षिप्तः, यः प्रतिपक्षभयाच्चलकाकपक्षः..... अमात्यकुमारैः कल्याणश्रीः) (—)

विदू—किं णु खु लआघरब्भंतरे सद्दो विअ ? होदु, विडपंतरेण पेरुवामि । (तथा कृत्वा) वअस्सपडिकिदिं पेरुवन्ती एका परिव्वाजिआ मोहं गआ ; तं पुण एका इत्थिआ उच्चंगे गोल्लिअ समस्सासं कुणइ । तक्केमि सा एसा विणअंधरेत्ति णिव्वेदपव्वाजिदा । (किं नु खलु लतागृहाभ्यन्तरे शब्द इव ? भवतु, विट-पान्तरेण प्रेक्षे । (—) वयस्यप्रतिकृतिं प्रेक्षमाणैका परिवाजिका मोहं गता; तां पुनरेका स्त्री उत्सङ्गे गृहीत्वा समाश्वासं करोति । तर्कयामि सैषा, विनय-न्धरेति निर्वेदप्रव्रजिता)

निपु—समस्ससिहि समस्ससिहि । (समाश्वसिहि समाश्वसिहि).

परि—(समाश्वस्य) जइ सो अविस्वदसरीरो एत्ताह एत्तिअं परिवद्धिदोभवे । (—) (यदि सोऽविक्षतशरीरः एतावता एतावान् परिवर्द्धितो भवेत्).

निपु—(आत्मगतम्) अवि णाम भवदीए स जणो भट्टिदारिआए हिअअवल्लवो जणो भवे ? (प्रकाशम्) भवदी, को एसो अन्भाआरिअजणजोगो आआसो ? का एसा विण्णाणविसेसविसरिसी असक्कया वाणी ? (—) अपि नाम भग-

वत्याः स्वजनो भर्तृदारिकाया हृदयबल्लभो जनो भवेत्? (—) भगवति क
एषोऽभ्यागारिकजनयोग्य आयासः? कैषा विज्ञानविशेषविसदृशी असंस्कृता
वाणी?)

परि—(प्रत्यवमृश्य) अये! निपुणिका । अयि निपुणिके,

निपु—(आत्म) मोहं पडिबुद्धाए इमाए सव्वं विण्णवेमि । (मोहं प्रतिबुद्धाया अस्याः
सर्वं विज्ञापयामि । (प्रकाशम्) कर्हि सो कुमारो कल्लाणसिरी? (कुत्र स कुमारः
कस्याणश्रीः?)

परि—बाष्पान्धापि यदादरं दश दिशो दृष्टिः समुद्रीक्षते
स्थाविर्येऽपि परिस्तुतस्तनमुखं वक्षो यदुत्कण्ठते ।
चिन्तातूलिकया मनोरथमये कुड्ये यदालिख्यते
प्रभ्रष्टं तदपत्यकं निपुणिके दग्धो विधिः पृच्छ्यताम् ॥ ८ ॥

(पुनरपि चित्रपटं निरीक्ष्य).

यौ द्वौ शैशवमुष्टिभेदाविशदौ रेखातपत्राङ्कितौ
क्षोणीचङ्क्रमणे मदङ्गुलिमुखं याम्यां समालिङ्कितम् ।
वन्द्ये यावापि कारितौ गुरुजने मात्रा बलादञ्जलिं
तौ हस्तावुरगेन्द्रभोगसदृशप्रौढप्रमाणौ कथम् ॥ ९ ॥

(बाष्पं विकिरति)

निपु—(पत्रपुटेन गोत्रवारि गृहीत्वा) भववदि, इदं मुहोदधं । (—) (भगवति,
इदं मुखोदकम्)

परि—ईषदिव प्राप्तानृण्या बुद्धिः ।

निपु—भववदि, एदसरिसवण्णो कुमारो भट्टिदारिआए दिट्ठो । ता इयं आलिहिदा
तस्स पडिकिदी । सहीजण इत्थादो आमिसखंडलुद्धेण सेणेण आरुवत्तो
पुणो वि गअणा भववदिहत्थं पत्तो जइच्छाए अअं चित्तपटो । (भगवति,
एतत्सदृशवर्णः कुमारो भर्तृदारिकाया दृष्टः । तदियमालिखिता तस्य प्रतिकृतिः ।
सखीजनहस्तादामिषखण्डलुद्धेन श्येनेनाक्षिप्तः पुनरपि गगनाद्भगवतीहस्तं प्राप्तो
यदृच्छयायं चित्रपटः).

परि—एवं भोः ! कथय, कथमेवं वर्णकारस्तया कुमारो दृष्टः ।

निपु—एवं विअ । (एवमिव)

परि—अपि नाम तयायमालिखितः स एव मगधकुलाङ्कुरः कुमारो भवेत् । न तदा-
कारानुकारी कश्चिदेकः ।

निपु—अच्छाहिदं एदं हि अअं अण्णं अणु मट्टिदारओ भअवदीए । (अत्याहितमेतद्धि ।
अयमन्यश्च ननु भर्तृदारको भगवत्याः ?

परि—निपुणिके, कथयामि ते भूतार्थम् । आसीत् पुरा सुन्दरवर्मा नाम मगधेश्वरः ।
तस्याग्रमहिषी मदिरावती नाम । तस्या धात्रेयिका सखी कुमारधात्री च भूता
दैवादन्तर्हिते तत्र राजकुले निर्वेदप्रव्रजिताहं मथुरां प्रविश्य प्रतिवसामि ।
सम्प्रति पुनः कीर्तिमती मे सर्वस्वम् ।

विदू—ही ! ही ! एस णातकोब्बि संवुत्तो ; दुंभेदो वैखाणसो त्ति मंतगुत्तो मंतेदि ।
(ही ! ही ! एष स्नातकोऽस्मि संवृत्तः ; दुर्मेधो वैखानस इति मन्त्रगुप्तो मन्त्रयति) ।

परि—(आत्मगतम्) लब्ध इदानीमवसरः पृच्छामि तावदेनाम् । यत् कीर्तिमती-
मन्तरेण तदखिलं निपुणिका वेत्ति ।

(नेपथ्ये गीयते)

न शशाक शशाङ्कभीक्षितुं न समाकर्णयितुं सुखोदितम् ।

न च पल्लवभङ्गकल्पिते शयनीये शयितुं नृपात्मजा ॥ १० ॥

परि—अहो ! यावत् साधु गीतमेतयोर्वैतालिकयोर्वैतालीकीयम् । निपुणिके, कीर्ति-
मतीमन्तरेण किञ्चिदिह भवतीं पृच्छामि ।

निपु—भअवदि, आणवेदु । (भगवति, आज्ञापयतु) ।

विदू—तक्केमि राजदारिआए एसा पच्चअं गदा सही । (तर्कयामि, राजदारिकाया
प्रत्ययं गता सखी) ।

परि— आकस्मिकीभरतिमुद्रहतीव तस्या
वक्त्रं कुतो वः मतीपतिनन्दनायाः ।

च्योतद्विलोचनजलाविलगण्डरेखं

नीहारनीरकणिकार्द्रमिवारविन्दम् ॥ ११ ॥

निपु—एसो भट्टिदारिआए चित्तगदो कुमारो पुच्छिदन्वो अभवदीए । सा दार्णिणीसासजिण्णाहिअआ कोमलकदलिआ बिअ इदी तदो पळोळ्ळती मणोरह-सहीजणं वि मुंचइ । जइ तं अंतरेण भववदी ण साहु पेखिबस्सदि, तदो सा अवस्सं तवस्सिणी सोअधरणिधरसिहररुदंसिणी भविस्सिदि (?) (एष भवतुर्दारिकायाश्चित्तगतः कुमारः प्रष्टव्यो भगवत्या । सा इदानीं निःश्वासदीर्णहृदया कोमलकदलिकेव इतस्ततः प्रलुठन्ती मनोरथसखीजनमपि मुञ्चति । यदि तामन्तरेण भगवती न साधु प्रेक्षिष्यते, ततः सावश्यं तपस्विना शोकधरणिधर-शिखरारूढा भविष्यति ?)

परि— सा राजपुत्री नयति त्रियामां

कान्तं विना जागरणारुणाक्षी ।

यामेव मन्ये प्रतिपालयन्ती

प्रत्यूषवेलामिव चक्रवाकी ॥ १२ ॥

विदू—ही ! ही ! भिरुवं गदो णिमंतणिमंतणं पत्तो । (सहसोपसृत्य) एस वैखानसो पणमदि । (ही ! ही ! भिक्षां गतो निमन्त्रनिमन्त्रणं प्राप्तः । (—) एष वैखानसः प्रणमति).

परि—अये ! वैखानसः प्राप्तः का नामेयमनभ्रवृष्टिः ?

निपु—(आत्मगतम्) को एसो आकिदीए मक्कडओ वाआए गद्दमो ? (—) क एष अक्कल्या मर्कटको वाचा गर्दमः ?)

विदू—एसो कल्लाणसिरिणो णमुक्कारो । (अञ्जलिं गृह्णाति). (एष कल्याणश्रियो नमस्कारः । (—)

निपु—(अत्मगतम्) एस वअस्सो तस्स जणस्स । (—) (एष वयस्यस्तस्य जनस्य).

परि— सामन्ताग्रवधूकरव्यातिकरैः सञ्चारितो दर्पणः

सौधोत्सङ्गनिवेशितो नवशशी पौरैः समुदीक्षितः ।

वह्नीभिः स्तनदायिनीभिरुचितस्कन्धः पुनर्मातृभिः

पुण्यः पुष्पपुरोत्सवः क नु गतो वैखानस ब्रूहि मे ॥ १३ ॥

विदू—आसणं दे पुत्तदंसणम् । अणुवअस्सं राजदारिआ संतप्पदि, राजदारिआदंस-
णुप्पण्णमदण्मादो बहुलपख्वचंदस्स अणुदिणुसंओभीरंतसरीरो वअस्सो दीसइ ।
(आसन्नं ते पुत्रदर्शनम् । अनुवयस्यं राजदारिका सन्तप्यति, राजदारिका-
दर्शनोत्पन्नमदनोन्मादो बहुलपक्ष.....शरीरो वयस्यो दृश्यते).

परि—साधु भोः—

कुवलयदलदीर्घदृष्टिपाशां कुसुमशरासनवागुरां कुमारः ।

नृपदुहितृमयीं निरुद्धवर्त्मा मृगपतिपोतसमः समाजिहीते ॥ १४ ॥

निपु—उस्ससिदं विअ मे हिअअं । किं णु हु सव्वं भवे ? (उत्त्वृसितमिव मे हृद-
यम् । किं नु खलु सर्वं भवेत् ?)

परि—वत्स, यावदविदितमेतदस्माभिः । केयमतर्किता दृष्टिवृद्धिः ?

विदू—एवं विअ । (एवमिव).

परि—एवमेतत् । प्रयोजनवादेव मे जीवितधारणम् ।

विदू—भोदि, राजदारिआए वअस्सपडिकिदी आलिहिदा, तुए वि मज्झ पडिकिदी
आलिहिदव्वा । (भवति, राजदारिकया वयस्यप्रतिकृतिरालिखिता, त्वयापि
मम प्रतिकृतिरालिखितव्या).

परि—(सस्मितम्) भजमानमभिहितम् ।

निपु—ध्वंसवडरवडुअ । (ध्वंसवडर (?) वडुक).

विदू—होदि, मा कुप्पहि एसो तुह्मे पसादेमि । (उत्तरीयादुन्मुच्य हारमर्पयति).
(भवति, मा कुप्य, एष युष्मान् प्रसादयामि) (—)

निपु—हं! एसो सो हारो जो भट्टिदारिआए पणट्ठो । (हारमञ्जलिना गृह्णाति)
(हं! एष स हारः, यो भर्तृदारिकायाः प्रणष्टः) (—)

परि—(आत्मगतम्) उभावपि मदुत्सङ्गसंवर्द्धितौ परस्परं कामातुरौ कीर्तिमती कल्या-
णवर्मा च । तदनयोर्वागर्थयोरिव समवायं करिष्यामि । (प्रकाशम्) ममा-
यमभिसन्धिः । (धातुरागेण पटान्ते समालिख्य वाचयति).

शौनकमिव बन्धुमती कुमारमविमारकं कुरङ्गीव ।
अर्हति कीर्तिमतीयं कान्तं कल्याणवर्माणम् ॥ १५ ॥

गूढरक्षितमेनं कुमाराय समर्पय प्रदोषे । पुनरात्मा दर्शयितव्यः । (चित्र-
पटमर्पयति).

बिद्—जं भववदी आणवेदि (यद्भगवत्याज्ञापयति) (चित्रपटं गृहीत्वा निष्क्रान्तः).

निपु—भववदि, कहां भट्टिदारिआए पाणा रखिदव्वा ? (भगवति, कथं भर्तृदा-
रिकायः प्राणा रक्षितव्याः ?)

परि—मामूचे विषादः । पश्य—

गूढप्रयोगनिभृतापि समर्पयन्ती (प्रियमर्पयन्ती ?)

चिन्ताज्वरं व्यपनयामि नृपात्मजायाः ।

पर्जन्यघोषविमुखीव दिवः पतन्ती

भूमेरवग्रहविशोषमनभ्रष्टृष्टिः ॥ १६ ॥

(इति निष्क्रान्ताः सर्वे)

द्वितीयोऽङ्कः

तृतीयोऽङ्कः

(ततः प्रविशति कामयमानावस्थः कुमारः)

कुमा—अचिन्तनीयं मनसापि लब्धुमज्ञातभावं जनमन्तरेण ।

मय्येषमाकस्मिकमत्सरोऽसौ मनोभवः किं नु फलं वहेत ॥ १ ॥

(मदनबाषां निरूप्य) भोः कष्टं ! यौवनमध्यंदिनप्रकटितमिथ्यामनोरथ-
मृगतृष्णिकाविषमेषु विषयमरुषु आभ्यतः कामुकजनपाथिकसार्थस्य सन्तापमु-
त्पादयत्यङ्गजन्मपतङ्गः । कुतः—

यदेष कबलीभूतो हरकोपानलत्विषाम् ।

दाहात्मा दृश्यते तेन नूनं मकरकेतनः ॥ २ ॥

धिग्भोः पराश्रयेण बलवत्तरमात्मानं मन्यते मदनः । कुतः—

उभिद्राशौक्त्तप्रसवपरिमलोद्गन्धयो गन्धवाहाः

प्रेङ्खद्भालाकमालाशतशबलमुखः प्रावृषेण्योऽन्धकारः ।

सौधोत्सङ्गप्रसङ्गी नवशशिविशदः शारदो वा प्रदोषो

यद्यस्त्रं न स्युरेते स्वयमतनुरसौ कातरः किं करोमि ॥ ३ ॥

अपि नाम पुनरपि सा दृश्येत ? भोः कष्टं ! सर्वः स्वकार्यकूपणो जीव-
लोकः । कुतः—

उपकृतवतीमपि दृशं रूपामृतसंविभागेन ।

वञ्चयति स्मरणसुखे तस्या हतहृदयमेतन्मे ॥ ४ ॥

क नु खलु जीवितसर्वस्वभूतस्या मौक्तिकहारः । आः ! यदि नाम कदा-
चित्तस्या राजदुहितुः सखीजनो दृश्येत परिजनो वा—इत्यमुना मनोरथेन
निर्गतो वयस्यो वैखानसः, तस्य हस्ते हारः । केनेदानीमुपष्टम्भेनावसीदन्त-
मात्मानमवलम्बिष्ये ? भवतु, प्रियादर्शनमुहूर्तभाजनीभूतं तदेव जीर्णोद्यानं
गत्वा पर्युत्सुकमात्मानं विनोदयामि ।

(ततः प्रविशति विदूषकः)

विदू—(परिक्रम्यावलोक्य) एसो सावमुत्ताविण्णात्तिविण्णाणो धरणिपडिओ विअ विज्जा-
हरदारओ सोअणीअदस्सणीयाकिदी वअस्सो दीसइ । (उपेत्य) जेदु वअस्सो ।
अविहा ! ण तिथि मे पडिवअणं । केवलं चिंताणिमील्लिअलोअणो उंमीलिओ-
विअ आलेख्वजोख्वे लख्विअदि । एवं दाव भणिस्सं ! राअदारअ, किं
राअसिरी चिंतीअदि ? (—) (एष शापमुक्तविज्ञप्तिविज्ञानो धरणिपतित इव
विद्याधरदारकः शोचनीयदर्शनीयाकृतिर्वयस्यो दृश्यते । (—) जयतु वयस्यः ।
अविहा ! नास्ति मे प्रतिवचनम् । केवलं चिन्तानिमीलितलोचन उन्मीलित
इवालेख्यजोक्षो लक्ष्यते । एवं तावद्गणामि । राजदारक, किं राजश्रीश्चिन्त्यते ?)

कुमा—(उन्मील्यबलोक्य) अये! वयस्यो वैखानसः । वयस्य, एवमेतत्, किं तु—

रत्नोज्जासितमस्तकै रणगतैस्तेजस्विभिर्भोगिभि-

देवै प्रादुरभूत् प्रचेतसि विभौ या बाहिनीभर्तरि ।

या साक्षात् पुरुषोत्तमप्रणयिनी नान्यं वृणीते पतिं

राजश्रीरिव मृग्यते हृदि सदा सा राजपुत्री च मे ॥ ५ ॥

वयस्य, सावशेषतुषारत्वान्मधुमासादिवसमुखानां शैलेयगन्धिनि शिलात-
लेऽस्मिन् मुहूर्तमासिष्यावहे ।

विदू—जं भट्टिवअस्सो अणवेदि । (यद्भर्तृवयस्य आज्ञापयति).

(उभावुपविशतः)

कुमा—कान्तापयोधरसंसर्गश्लाघनीयो मौक्तिकहारस्तावदनीयताम् ।

विदू—अविहा! कहिं हारो पणट्ठो? (अविहा! कुत्र हारः प्रणष्टः?)

कुमा—धिङ्मूर्ख,

विदू—ही! ही! होदु होदु मूर्खो वैखाणसो अपण्डितो वैखाणसो त्ति । मम दाव
वअणं सुणाहि, पच्चा मं उवालभेहि । इदो अहं राअदारिआकेरअमोत्तिअहारं
अण्णेसंतीए विअ राअदारिआ हिअअणिव्विसंसाए णिवुणिआए दिट्ठो म्मि ।
(ही! ही! भवतु भवतु मूर्खो वैखानसः, अपण्डितो वैखानस इति । मम
तावद्वचनं शृणु, पश्चान्मामुपालभस्व । इतोऽहं राजदारकीयमौक्तिकहारमन्वि-
प्यन्त्येव राजदारिकाहृदयनिर्विशेषया निपुणिकया दृष्टोऽस्मि).

कुमा—(सकुतूहलम्) किमसि निपुणिकया दृष्टः? ततस्ततः ।

विदू—किं तदो तदोत्ति? रूपाभिगहिदस्स कुम्भीलस्स का पडिपत्ती । (किं ततस्तत
इति? रूपाभिगृहीतस्य कुम्भीलस्य का प्रतिपत्तिः).

कुमा—मुक्तः परिहासः, विस्पष्टमभिधीयताम् ।

विदू—एवं विअ । (चित्रपटं दर्शयित्वा) पेरुवदु पेरुवदु तुल्ल पडिफिदिं विंगखिणं (?)
तत्तहोदीए चिचं । (एवमिव । (—) प्रेक्षतां प्रेक्षतां तव प्रतिकृतिः.....
तत्र भवत्याश्चित्रम्).

कुमा—अपि सत्यमिदम् ? को नाम पुरुषः ब्रह्म्यादेवंभूतमभ्युदयविशेषम् ? तथा
बलात् प्रहृत्य मे हृदयम् । पश्य—

सम्प्रत्यहं प्राशित्वैतन् नपात्रं
प्रोद्भिन्नरोमपुलकोपहितं शरीरम् ।
सिन्दूरचूर्णरचनारमणीयकुम्भ-
नीराजितं नृपकरीव समुद्रहामि ॥ ६ ॥

अपि च—

वामो गन्धवहः पुरा पुनरसौ वासन्तिको दक्षिणः
मारम्भे कुलिशं प्रमूनधनुषः पश्चात्तु बाष्पाः शराः ।
यामिन्यामपनीतवाहिकाणिकाः पीयूषनिष्यन्दिन-
श्च्योतच्चन्द्रमरीचयोऽपि नियतं निर्वापयिष्यन्ति नः ॥ ७ ॥

(सावधानं चित्रपटं निर्वर्णयति)

विदू—किं तु ए तत्तहोदीए सिप्पविण्णाणं, आदु अत्तणो आकिदिसोहा णिव्वणी-
अदि ? (किं त्वया तत्रभवत्याः शिल्पविज्ञानम्, उतात्मन आकृतिशोभा निर्व-
र्ण्यते ?)

कुमा—नन्विदमेव चित्रकर्म कान्तायाः शिल्पगतं विज्ञानविशेषमस्मद्गतं प्रेम च प्रकट-
यति । कुतः—

प्रेम्णि स्थितेऽपि तस्याः सम्मुखलज्जाहृते समाधाने ।
मत्प्रतिकृतिरचनायामासीदन्ते विसंवादः ॥ ८ ॥

विदू—भो वअस्स, तुह तत्तहोदीए अ दोण्णं वि तुह्माण कदरस्स सविसेसं सिप्प-
विण्णाणं ति महंतो मे संदेहो । ता इमेहिं विंज्झसिहरोज्झरसंणिहिदेहिं दाउ-
राअवण्णएहिं पडंते विरएहि तत्तहोदीए पडिक्किदिं । (भो वयस्य तव तत्र-
भवत्याश्च द्वयोरपि युवयोः कतरस्य सविशेषं शिल्पविज्ञानमिति महान्मे
सन्देहः । तदेभिर्विन्ध्याशिलोच्चयसंनिहितैर्धातुरागवर्णकैः पटान्ते विरचय तत्र-
भवत्याः प्रतिकृतिम्).

कुमा—सखे, ममाप्ययमेवाभिप्रायः, किं तु—

भवति निर्वृतये यदि लिख्यते कुसमकेतुविकारवती प्रिया ।

स्मरकृशेत्यमुना तु समाधिना ग्लपयितुं दयितां बत नोत्सहे ॥९॥

विदू—(चित्रपटं विस्तारयति).

कुमा—(दृष्ट्वा 'शौनकम्' इत्यादि वाचयित्वा) कस्येयमक्षरपाङ्क्तिः ?

विदू—भवदीए जोअसिद्धीए । (भगवत्या योगसिध्याः).

कुमा—अहो ! मां प्रति निष्कारणवत्सला भगवती ।

विदू—(आत्मगतम्) दाणिं परमत्थदो जोअसिद्धिं णिवेदेमि । (प्रकाशम्) ण खु
सा णिस्त्वारणवच्चला । (—) (इदानीं परमार्थतो योगसिद्धिं निवेदयामि ।

(—) न खलु सा निष्कारणवत्सला).

कुमा—कथमिव ?

विदू—एव्व विअ । (एवमिव).

कुमा—(सकुतूहलम्) कथं ममैव निर्वेदप्रव्रजिता धात्री !

....

परलोकात्पुनरागतेति मन्ये ।

अपि नाम विलोकयेयमाभ्यां

जनयित्रीमधुना विलोचनाभ्याम् ॥

(बाष्पं विकिरति).

विदू—धारेदु धारेदु भवं । अदिक्कंदो सो जंमंतरभूदो कालो । (धारयतु धारयतु
भवान् । अतिक्रान्तः स जन्मान्तरभूतः कालः).

कुमा—अत एव कथञ्चिदात्मा धार्यते ।

विदू—(पुनरपि चित्रपटं विस्तार्य) आलिहदु । (आलिखतु).

कुमा—(कीर्तिमतीप्रतिकृतिमालिखति).

(प्रविश्य नन्दकः)

नन्द—जेदु भट्टा, ह्माणवेला संपत्ता । (जयतु भर्ता, खानवेला संप्राप्ता).

विदू—अविहा ! मम सरीरादो णिरुवतेण बुबुल्लासंदोहेण विअ अच्चासंणो मज्झहो ।
(उत्थाय) उट्टेदु उट्टेदु भवं । (अविहा ! मम शरीरान्निष्क्रान्तेन बुभुक्षास-
न्दोहेनेवात्यासन्नो मध्याह्नः । (—) उत्तिष्ठतु उत्तिष्ठतु भवान्).

कुमा—(विदूषकहस्ते चित्रपटं दत्त्वा परिक्रम्य) अये ! दण्डकरुचिरिव नृपतिः परित-
पति परमशीतकिरण । कुतः—

प्रश्च्योतत्करशीकरेण करिणा संस्पृश्यते वाशिका
स्कन्धे चन्दनशाखिनः फणिपतिर्वेष्टान्तरं चेष्टते ।
ध्यानस्थानजुषो मुनेः परिचयादुत्सङ्गशय्यातलं
मारब्धमचलाहतो मृगशिशुर्निद्रालुरालीयते ॥ १० ॥

(निष्क्रान्ताः सर्वे)

तृतीयोऽङ्कः

चतुर्थोऽङ्कः

(ततः प्रविशति कौम्भकूणविक्रवेषो वर्द्धमानकः)

वर्द्ध—(कुम्भकूणवं वादयित्वा गायति)

अलिअं रामसरबलं गुहकहाहिकुञ्जगिरिविवरम् ।
तुज्झ विणाअअ मंणे पल्लवरिणए रदणवहो ॥
(अलिकं रामसरबलं गुहकथापि क्रोञ्जगिरिविवरा ।
तव विनायक मन्ये.....रदनमथः..... ॥ १ ॥)

(पुनरपि गायति)

बहमाणो रेवइमुहमहुमअणिव्वत्ति अं उदअराअं ।
 सामलवसणकळंको सोहइ चंदव्व बलभहो ॥
 (बहन् रेवतीमुखमधुमदनिर्वर्तितमुदयरागः ।
 श्यामलवसनकलङ्को शोभते चन्द्र इव बलभद्रः ॥ २ ॥)

(परिक्रम्य) आणत्तोस्मि अंअमंतगुत्तेण-गच्छ सोम, शूलपाणिसिद्धाअअणं ।
 तहिं गहिदपासुपदवेसं अंअरास्वदं भणाहि—“मम समीवं आअच्छदु”त्ति ।
 (परिक्रम्यावलोक्य) एदं शूलपाणिसिद्धाअअणं । एदे खु षणेहिं अप्पिदाणं
 उवहाविसुद्धाणं गहिदवेसंतरं अणुट्ठाणगदाणं अस्मि सुभट्ठाणं एके दीसंति ।
 (अज्ञप्तोऽस्मि आर्यमन्त्रगुप्तेन-गच्छ सोम्य शूलपाणिसिद्धायतनम् । तत्र गृही-
 तपाशुपतवेषमार्यरक्षितं भण-‘मम समीपमागच्छतु’ इति । (—)एतच्छूल-
 पाणिसिद्धायतनम् ।) एते खलु धनेरर्चितानामुपधाविशुद्धानां गृहीतवेषा-
 न्तरानुष्ठानगतानामस्माकं स्थानगतानां सुभटानामेके दृश्यन्ते ।)

(नेपथ्ये) नमोऽस्तु ते शशाङ्कशेखराय शम्भवे ।

वर्द्ध—(कर्णं दत्त्वा) एसो खु सो भअवसिवभट्टारअपादवंदणव्वावुदस्स अंअस्स सरओ
 सुणीअदि । होदु । स संकेदलख्वणस्ससिरिरुख्वस्स पच्छाये पडिवालेमि ।
 (परिक्रामति) (एष खलु भगवच्छिवभट्टारकपादवन्दनव्यापृतस्यार्यस्य स्वरः
 श्रूयते । भवतु, अस्य सङ्केतलक्षणस्य श्रीवृक्षस्य प्रच्छाये प्रतिपालयामि ।).

(ततः प्रविशति पाशुपतवेष आर्यरक्षितः)

आर्य—नमोऽस्तु ते शशाङ्कशेखराय शम्भवे ।

कण्ठे विषं विकटवेष करे करोटि-
 मंसे गजाजिनस्युरंगं करोषि ।
 कर्णे करोषि वरुणालयसारगर्भं
 लाटीललाटतटसुन्दरमिन्दुखण्डम् ॥ ३ ॥

अपि चेयं जन्मनः प्रभृत्यनपायिनी मे प्रार्थन्ता—

इच्छान् चक्रकलुषाल्पधियां त्वदीय-
 दिव्यस्वरूपसहजान्धविलोचनानां ।

त्वत्पादयोः स्फुरतु भक्तिरक्लृप्तिमेयं

जात्यन्तरेऽपि जननीस्तनपायिनां नः ॥ ४ ॥

(सप्रदक्षिणं नमस्कारं कृत्वा परिक्रम्य)

मुहूर्ते तावदितः प्राकारमुत्तरेण श्रीवृक्षच्छायामुपसेविष्ये, यत्र मां कार्य-
वन्तो मन्त्रगुप्तपुरुषाः प्रतिपालयन्ति । (तथा करोति).

वर्द्ध—(उपेत्य) अंअ, वंदामि । (आर्य, वन्दे).

आर्य—अये! वर्द्धमानकः । वर्द्धमानक, अपि जानीषे कुञ्जरकानुवर्तिषु कुपितेषु
प्रत्यन्तपालेषु तत्प्रातिचिकीर्षया ससैन्ये नगरान्निर्गते चण्डसेनहतके संप्रति स्वा-
मिप्रत्यानयनार्थमात्ययिकदूतो हरिणाश्वः प्रेषितो ननु मन्त्रगुप्तेन ।

वर्द्ध—पेसिदो त्ति एत्तअं मए जाणिदं, ण खु से अभिप्पाओ । (प्रेषित इत्येताव-
न्मया ज्ञातम्, न खल्वस्याभिप्रायः).

आर्य—अंहो! साधु मन्त्रगुप्त, साधु, यदयमुपधाविशुद्धो गर्भदासः परिपाश्ववर्त्यपि
विक्रियासु न तेऽभिप्रायमधिगच्छति । कुतः किल ते मन्त्रदोषावसरः ?
अथवा तुल्यरूपमुभयोरपि धर्मार्थकामयोरनुशासनम् । कुतः—

कुर्वन्ति भृत्या वचनं प्रभूणां

प्रयोजनोद्देशमलक्षयन्तः ।

श्रुत्यर्थमार्याः फलमस्तु मा वा

स्वधर्म इत्येव समाचरन्ति ॥ ५ ॥

वर्द्ध—अंअ, दाणिं (जइ) आअच्छदि सामी णिव्विआरो णं रज्जलाभो । (आर्य,
इदानीं (यदि) आगच्छति स्वामी निर्विकारो ननु राज्यलाभः).

आर्य—कः सन्देहः ? पश्य—पूर्वसंनिविष्टैः सागरदत्तप्रभृतिभिः स्थविरामात्यैः संभूय
मन्त्रगुप्तेन देवस्य सुन्दरवर्मणस्तेषां सुकृतानामनुस्मारिता रहसि पौरजानपदाः ।
यदि सांप्रतमेप्यति स्वामी शत्रोरेकलोष्टबधमप्याचरिष्यन्ति; किमङ्गः पुनः
स्वामिपादोपसङ्ग्रहणम् ।

वर्द्ध—केण कारणेण विरक्ता पकिदिए चंडसेणहदअस्स ? (केन कारणेन विरक्ताः
प्रकृत्यश्चण्डसेनहतकस्य ?)

आर्य—तेनैव शीलापराधेन । पश्य—

कारानिरोधपरिपाण्डुकपोलरेखा-

कारा निरोधविधुराः प्रकृतीश्चकार ।

कारक्षणेन ककुभो वशमानिनाय

कारस्करः स खलु सम्प्रति पार्थिवेषु ॥ ६ ॥

वर्द्ध—तदो तदो कहिं एरिसवणस्स से राअसिरी ? (ततस्ततः कुत्रेदृशवर्णस्यास्य राजश्री ?)

आर्य—विस्तृतेयं कथा । समासतस्तु कथयामि—पुरा किल सुन्दरवर्मणा स्वयमवि-
दितस्वभावतया विषतरुरिव पुत्रीकृतश्चण्डसेनहतकः ।

वर्द्ध—तदो तदो । (ततस्ततः).

आर्य—ततः स्वयं मगधकुलं व्यपदिशन्नपि मगधकुलवैरिभिर्म्लेच्छैर्लिच्छविभिः सह-
सम्बन्धं कृत्वा लब्धवावसरः कुसुमपुरमुपरुद्धवान् ।

वर्द्ध—तदो तदो । (ततस्ततः).

आर्य—ततः संप्रवृत्ते संग्रामे वधपात्रमप्येनं पुत्रीकृतत्वादपहस्तयित्वा लिच्छविकुल-
मन्तः क्षपितवान् देवः । स हि—

स्वशक्तितः कृतसमरोत्सवो द्विषो

भयादिव त्रिदिवमितः प्रपेदिरे ।

प्रमत्सरस्तदनु च दीप्तविग्रहो

दिवं गतः स्वयमपि तत्र मागधः ॥ ७ ॥

वर्द्ध—हद्धि ! असरिससंगामे उप्पण्णो मित्तु तारिसस्स वि देवस्स ! (हा ! धिक् अस-
दृशसंग्रामे उत्पन्नो मृत्युस्तादृशस्यापि देवस्य !).

आर्य—एवमेतत्, जरया नाम किल व्याधेन भगवानपि पुण्डरीकाक्षो लोकान्तरमु-
पनीतः ।

वर्द्ध—उप्पण्णावसरं दाणिं पुच्छामि—कहं सामिसहिदाणं तुस्साणं तवोवणवासो ?
(उत्पन्नावसरमिदानीं पृच्छामि—कथं स्वामिसहितानां युष्माकं तपोवनवासः ?)

आर्य—एतदपि श्रूयताम् - ततोऽस्माकं जनयितारः स्वामिना सह स्वर्लोकमारूढाः ।
मातरोऽपि महादेवीभिः सह भगवन्तमाशुशुक्षणिमाधिताः । वयमप्यधर्मघरेण
स्वामिना समानवयस्कया विनयन्धरया नाम धात्र्या प्रच्छन्नमेव रजन्यामट-
वीकान्तारमुपनीय वनगजवृंहितत्रस्तया सद्यो विप्रणाशिताः । पुनरपि यदृच्छ-
यागतैस्तापसैर्नीतास्तपोवनमिति पर्यवसिता कथा ।

वर्द्ध—एवं एव अय्य पेस्विदुकामो अय्यमतगुत्तो । (एवमेव आर्यं प्रेक्षितुकाम
आर्यमन्त्रगुप्तः).

आर्य—गच्छतु भवान्, अहमप्यपराह्णे भिक्षाटनच्छद्मना गत्वा रथकारवेश्मगतं तत्र-
भवन्तं द्रक्ष्यामि ।

(निष्क्रान्तौ)

मिश्रविष्कम्भकः

(ततः प्रविशति सखजः सोष्णीषो मन्त्रगुप्तः)

मन्त्र—साधु भोः, मम खलु तावत् स्वामिकार्यपर्याकुलहृदयत्वादविदितनक्तन्दिन-
विशेषो गतः कालः । सम्प्रति पुनः—

गुणविप्लवशङ्किधिया नीतिः समुपनतसाहसावसरा ।

भृशतरमाकुलयति मारिषमिव रङ्गोन्मुखी वाक्छ्रीः ॥ ८ ॥

(विलोक्य) अये ! पर्यवसितो दिवसः । अहो तु खलु ! नित्यप्रमुदित-
नरनारीसहस्रसङ्कुलस्य कुसुमपुरस्य सायन्तनी श्रीः । इह हि—

त्यक्तो मानस्तरुण्या प्रणयकुपितया किं फलं शम्फलीभिः

सैरन्ध्रीप्राप्तवेषा स्मितरुचिरमुखी स्वैरमास्ते पुरन्ध्री ।

स्नाताः स्नानीयचूर्णग्रहणसुरभयः सुभ्रवो बभ्रुवर्णाः

शारीकुर्वन्ति सन्ध्यां प्रचलकुवलयालेपनीलैः कटाक्षैः ॥ ९ ॥

अपि च—

आज्ञाकेशान्तधूपैरिव गगनतलं व्याप्तमासीत्तपोभि-
र्धूमव्याजेन दीपास्तिमिरमिव मृदुः पीतमेते वमन्ति ।

कञ्चान्यः प्रस्थितानां प्रियतमैवसति नक्तकालिनीनां
श्रूयन्ते राजमार्गे कलकलमुखरा मेखलाः सुन्दराणाः ॥ १० ॥

अस्मां किल रजन्यामप्यति स्वामी । साधु भोः—

भूत्वा प्रच्छन्नमन्तर्बहिरपि च मया मण्डलं साधयित्वा
निःशेषं नीतिमार्गप्रणिहितमनसा वञ्चितश्चण्डसेनः ।
स्वामी कुर्यात् प्रतापं निकृतिमति रिपौ विप्रलम्भो न दोषो
मायामोहेन दंत्येष्वपथमुपगतेष्वाददे वज्रमिन्द्रः ॥ ११ ॥

(ततः प्रविशति सान्नाहिकवेषः सखडो वीरसेनः)

वीर—प्राप्तोऽस्मि चिरादहमिदानीं कुसुमपुरम् । (निःश्वस्य)

कालापकर्षे सति भङ्गुरत्वात्
प्रसीणसंस्कारत्वां स्मृतीनाम् ।
स्फुरन्ति मे शैशवचेष्टितानि
जातिस्मरस्येव भवान्तराणि ॥ १२ ॥

(परिक्रम्य) अहो तु खलु टङ्कच्छेद्यैरन्धकारपटलैर्निरन्तरनिचितानीव दिग-
न्तराणि । तथा हि—

विभर्ति रथ्या रणधूलिधूत्रं
वान्तं विघट्टाभिरिवान्धकारम् ।
तिर्यक्मवृत्तं नगनिम्नगाभ्यः
कलिन्दकन्येव पयःप्रवाहम् ॥ १३ ॥

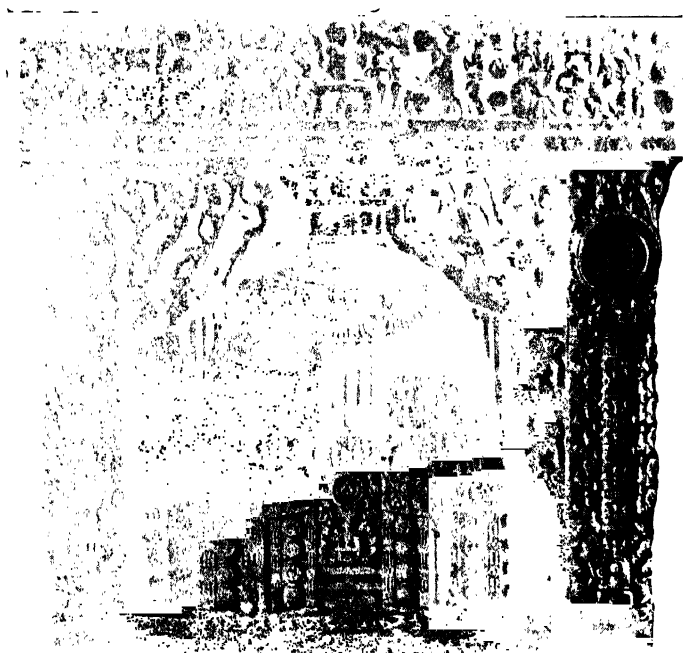
भवतु, बाल्याभ्यस्तेन वर्त्मना रथकारवेश्ममतं तत्रभवन्तं मन्त्रगुप्तं पश्यामि ।
(परिक्रम्य) इदं तद्रथकारमवनम् । हन्त ! अङ्गुलिस्फोटेन संज्ञामवधात् ।
विष्कान्तः ।

वीर—(उपेत्य) वर्द्धतां वर्द्धतां भवान् ।

मन्त्र—(सकुतूहलम्) अये ! वीरसेनः । (करं करेणावलम्बते) उपविशतु भवान् ।
(शयनार्थं दर्शयति).

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Vol. III, Parts 2, 3 & 4
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Amarāvati Sculpture depicting a Stūpa.

1929

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- (b) List of Members of the Society during the year, 1928—29.
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THE
QUARTERLY JOURNAL
OF THE
ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

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Oct., 1928, Jan. & April 1929.

Parts 2, 3 & 4.

SANTA BOMVALI COPPER PLATE GRANT OF NANDAVARMA

A REVIEW


G. RAMADAS, B. A., M. R. A. S., M. A. O. S.

After the celebration of the Kalinga Day at Mukhalingam in 1926, the scholars of Ganjam have received an impetus to devote a part of their time to investigate into the past history of Kalinga. Many are now zealously searching for the ancient records, especially copper plate grants which their district is rich in. Recently more than a half a dozen of such documents have been brought to light through the courtesy of the *Bharati* and the *Journal* of the ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY. It is a great help to scholars like myself who are situated in parts barren of such historical documents. Much more help would be rendered if the facsimiles are made clearer and neater. These recent historical finds have given rise to many theories regarding the family of the Eastern Ganga kings. The Santa Bomvali copper-plate grant is one of such documents that have become the basis for launching controversial theories. I propose in this paper to examine a few points connected with this charter.

Sriman Satyanarayana Rajaguru Mahasayo, B. A. of Parla-kimidi edited this plate in this *Journal*, (Vol. II. parts 3 & 4. p. 185 ff;) but no facsimile accompanied the article. The same plates under the title of, 'The Copper Plate Grant of Indravarma, son of Anantavarma' was edited in Telugu by Śrī Śrī Śrī Lakshminarayana Harichandander Rajah Bahadur, M. R. A. S., *Purvataṭvaviśārad*, of Tekkali and it was published along with facsimile in the *Bharati*, Vol. 5. No. 7. My friend Mr. R. Subbarao M.A., L.T., of Rajahmundry re-edited it with the challenging title, 'Is it Indravarma's grant?', in the *Bharati*, Vol. 5, No. 7.



The point of dispute amongst them was with regard to the donor's name, which is of minor importance for historical purposes. The first two editors read the date of the grant to be 221st year of the *Kalinga era*, and my friend Mr. Subbarao, who at first thought the date of the document to be 100, corrected himself and accepted the reading suggested by the Rajah Saheb of Tekkali.

When I saw the article published in the *Bharati*, Vol. 5, No. 7, it struck me that the script of the grant did not agree to the year. As the facsimile print was not clear, I could not clear my doubt. In a letter I requested the Rajah Saheb of Tekkali to favour me with at least the pencil rubbing of the date portion alone. In his letter, dated 15-7-28 he kindly sent me two rubbings. A few days afterwards, my friend Mr. G. Narasirgarao, B. A., L. T., of Parlakundi sent me an ink impression of the complete grant. Putting all these together, I was able to get at the correct reading of the year given in numerical figures.

In the inscriptions of the earlier centuries of the Christian era the numerical figures have no place values. The figures in the units place are quite distinct from the corresponding multiples of ten; these differed from the corresponding multiples of 100. Thus 222 is found expressed by  = 200 + 20 + 2.

"It was, therefore, impossible to have any place value, and the numbers like twenty, thirty and other multiples of ten, of hundred and so'on, required separate symbols" (*I. H. Q.* Vol. III. No. I. p. 108.)

According to this, the first figure in the numerical figures of the year of the plate under review cannot be taken to express 200. cf. Palitana Plates of Dhruvasēna I. dated *Samvat* 207 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVII. No. 7.) and also the figures used in the first centuries of the Christian era (*I. H. Q.* Vol. III. No. 1. p. 108)

Those that have studied the document previously failed to observe that above the two curved lines of the figure there is another one similarly curved and that between 'te' and the figure there is a comma-like stroke. All these together form the first figure. They show that they represent a mal-formed  symbol which is a sign for 300. The omission of the vertical curve made the three curves and the comma disjointed. Similarly the two curves in the tenths' place is the O, the sign for twenty; here also the curve at the either end is omitted. The figure in the units' place is understood to be a slightly curved horizontal line. In the pencil rubbings it clearly appears to be  the upward tail of which is merged into the raised rim of the plate. In the facsimile given in *Bharati*, Vol. 5, No. 7 also it appears so cf. Chicacole Plates of Dēvēndravarma (*E. I.* Vol. III. No. 20) Thus the

date of the Santa Bomvali Copper plate reads 323 of the Kalinga era but not 221 as read by those that have commented upon it already.

Again Mr. Rajaguru in his notes on the plate says, "the alphabet employed belongs to the old (*Kutilakshara*) type and characters are exactly like those found in the copper plates of Southern Kalinga (modern Ganjam and Vizagapatam Districts) used from the 9th and 10th centuries A. D." The date of the grant as read by him may be verified with this assumption.

The grant gives us two dates: The gift was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse (l. 18) and the charter was made on the 5th day of the month of *Ashadha* in the year 221 of *Pravardhamana Vijaya rajya Saka*. (ll. 31 and 32). Naturally the *Amavasya* when the solar eclipse had occurred must have the one that immediately preceded the 5th *tithi* of *Ashadha*. Consequently the year of which a solar eclipse had occurred on the new-moon day of *Ashadha* must be the 221st year of the era. Since the grant on paleographical authority is assigned to the 9th and 10th centuries, that year must be found in that period. After selecting such years from the period, we may apply the other astronomical tests furnished by the other Kalinga grants and arrive at that particular year from which the Eastern Gangas had started their era. Those tests are here given for the benefit of those who have not seen my article on the 'Chronology of the Eastern Ganga kings of Kalinga,' published in the *Journal of BIHAR & ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY*, Vol. IX. 1923.

1. In the Kalinga grant of Dēvēndravarma, dated 251st year of the Kalinga era, was recorded a solar eclipse (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 273).

2. The Alamanda Plates of Anantavarma records a solar eclipse in the 304th year of the same era (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. No. 3).

3. A solar eclipse in 351st year of the same era is recorded in the Parlakimidi grant of Satyavarmadeva, (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 11).

4. A lunar eclipse on the *purnamasi* of *Margasira* is mentioned in the Chicacole grant of Indravarma dated on the 15th day of *Chaitra* of the 128th year. The eclipse must have occurred on the *Margasira* full-moon of the 127 year.

5. Chicacole Plates of Dēvēndravarma, dated in the 183rd year (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. No. 21) show that the 7th *tithi* of the bright half of the month of *Magha* in the year 182, which was *Kshaya*. This is not stated in the grant but has to be inferred from what is stated in the charter. The grant was dated on the 20th day of *Sravana* of the 183rd year; and that the gift was made on the 8th *tithi* of *Magha*. So this *Magha* must be of the year 182. The 7th *tithi* of the month of *Magha* is

said to be auspicious for gifts and other rituals; but since this gift was made on the 8th *tithi*, the 7th *tithi* must have been *Kshaya*.

The following are the years between 1000 and 1199 A. D. in which a solar eclipse had happened on the new-moon day of *Ashaha*.

1015, 1024, 1034, 1042, 1043, 1061, 1080, 1089, 1108, 1109, 1126, 1145, 1146, 1155, 1164, 1173, 1174, 1191, 1193.

One of these years must correspond to the 221st year of the Kalinga era. So the year in which the era began shall be one the following:—

794, 803, 813, 821, 822, 840, 859, 868, 887, 888, 905, 924, 925, 934, 943, 952, 953, 970, 972.

I. We shall apply the first test to each of these. 251st from each of these must have solar eclipse; those that had no solar eclipse are discarded.* 1045, 1054, 1064, 1072, 1073, 1091, 1110, 1119, 1138, 1139, 1156, 1175, 1176, 1185, 1194, 1203, 1204, 1221, 1223.

The initial years that stood this test are:—

794, 803, 813, 822, 840, 859, 868, 905, 925, 934, 970, 972.

II. 304th year must have a solar eclipse. Those in which no solar eclipse occurred are discarded.

1198, 1107, 1117, 1126, 1144, 1163, 1172, 1209, 1229, 1238, 1274, 1276.

The initial years that stood this test also are 803, 822, 859, 934, 970.

III. 351st year had a solar eclipse. Each of the following is the 351st year from the corresponding initial year, and those in which there was no solar eclipse are crossed.

1154, 1173, 1210, 1285, 1321

The following are the initial years that stood this test.

822, 934, 970.

IV. There was a lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of *Margasira* of 127th year.

The 127th year from each of the above are, 949, 1061, 1097 but on the full-moon day of the *Margasira* of none of these, happened a lunar eclipse.

Thus in these two centuries assumed on paleographical authority not even one year could stand these four tests. I have shown in my 'Chronology of the Early Gangas of Kalinga', that not even one year of the 5th and 6th centuries suggested by Dr. Fleet on the authority of synchronism and paleography, could answer to these astronomical tests. Yet my friend Mr. Subba Rao had to lean again on these two

* Discarded dates are underlined for want of cancelled figures. Ed.

unsound authorities to show that 'the donor of the Chidvalasa grant, which he edited (*J. A. H. R. S.* Vol. II. part 2, p. 146), and Kamarnava, the founder of the later Ganga line would not be contemporaries and would not rule simultaneously from the same place, viz. Kalanganagara". He thought that the year of the Chidvalasa grant calculated from S. S. 271 obtained by me as the initial year of the *Kalinga era*, went to about 17 years after the accession of Kamarnava I. to the Kalinga throne. To get himself clear of this supposed confusion he took the help of synchronism and paleography and allotted A. D. 530 to the Urlam plates of Hastivarma dated 80th year of the *Kalinga era* (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVIII. No. 19). From A. D. 530 if we take away 80, we obtain A. D. 450 when the Ganga era should have started. The 127th year from A. D. 450 is A. D. 577, on the full moon day of *Margasira* of this year there was no lunar eclipse. Thus the year 530 A. D. fixed for the Urlam plates does not satisfy mathematics; and therefore cannot be accepted.

My friend was confronted by the confusion of the dates because he did not clearly understand the calculation of regnal years peculiar to Kalinga. It was on account of this that he thought that Kamarnava I. ascended the throne of Kalinga in A. D. 729. Every scholar that undertakes to study the past history of Kalinga will be confused with reigns of the Kalinga kings, if he is not before hand posted with the method of reckoning the regnal years. Babu Manomohan Chakravarti who was the first to deal with the Chronology of the Gangas of Orissa was entangled in this confusion especially about the times and years of the reigns of the Ganga kings. As that confusion has been hampering the discussion of all historical events of the *Ganga vamsa* rule, he gathered materials and discovered that it was the *Anka* or *Samasta* system that had been the cause of that confusion. Had Mr. Subbarao calculated the year of Kamarnava's accession to the throne in accordance with the *Anka* system he would have found out that the donor of Chidvalasa grant had reigned some years prior to the founder of the later Ganga family.

The Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarma alias Chōdagangadēva give a geneology of his family from Kamarnava I. and also the regnal years of each king therein. Nadagam plates of Vajrahastadēva give a geneology which differs from that of the Vizagapatam plates, both in the names of the kings and their regnal years. Here below give two lists of these kings and their regnal years; one according to the Vizagapatam plates and the other as corrected by the Nadagam plates. In each, the period of reign of each king is worked out in Śaka years in accordance with the *anka* system.

In this system, I and all figures ending in 0 and 6 (except 10), are omitted and the 1st *anka* year of one king and the last *anka* year of his predecessor fall in the same year. Thus the 1st year of a king is counted as two; after the 5th year is reckoned the 7th; the year next to the 15th is counted as the 17th; after the 19th year comes the 21st.

LIST OF THE LATER GANGA KINGS
WITH THE PERIODS OF THEIR REIGNS.

Vizagapatam Plates, *corrected* *by the Nadagam Plates.*

King's name	Regnal years.	Actual years	Period in saka years	King's name	Regnal years	Actual years	Period in saka years
Kāmārṇava I.	36	30	718—747	Kāmārṇava I.	36	30	700—729
Dānarrāva	40	33	747—779	Dānārṇava	40	33	729—761
Kāmārṇava II.	50	41	779—747	Kāmārṇava II.	50	41	761—801
Raṇārṇava	5	4	819—822	Raṇārṇava	5	4	801—804
Vajrahasta II.	15	13	822—834	Vajrahasta II.	15	13	804—816
Kāmārṇava III.	19	16	834—849	Kamarnava III.	19	16	816—831
Gunārṇava II.	27	22	849—870	Gunarnava II.	27	22	831—852
Jitankuśa	15	13	870—882	} Vajrahasta IV.	44	36	852—887
Kaligalankuśa	12	10	882—891				
Gundama I.	7	5	891—895	Gundama I.	3	2	887—888
Kāmārṇava IV.	25	21	895—915	Kāmārṇava IV.	34	28	888—915
Vinayāditya	3	2	915—916	Vinayaditya	3	2	915—916
Vajrahasta IV.	35	29	916—943	Vajrahasta IV.	35	29	916—943
Kāmārṇava V.	½	½	943—944	Kāmārṇava V.	½	½	943—944
Gundama II.	3	2	944—945	Gundama II.	3	2	944—945
Madhu-				Madhu-			
Kāmārṇava VI.	19	16	945—960	Kāmārṇava VI.	19	16	945—960

Vajrahasta V. was crowned king in the saka year 960. According to the Vizagapatam plates Kamarrava I. begins his reign in Ś. Ś. 718 or A. D. 786 and according to Nadagam plates his reign begins in Ś. Ś. 700 or A. D. 778. The Chīḍivalasa grant being dated in 397, of the Ganga era belongs to 397 + 271 or 668 of the Śaka era or to 746 of the Christian era. Consequently the grant is 40 years, according to the Vizagapatam plates, 32 years according to the Nadagam plates, earlier than the year of the accession of Kamarnava I. The donor of the Chīḍivalasa grant was not a contemporary of Kamarnava I., nor did he reign simultaneously with Kamarnava I. from the same Kalinga capital. The year Ś. Ś. 271 discovered with the help of mathematics to have been the first year of the *Pravarḍhamana vijaya-rajya* era, cannot fail to answer any question connected with the chronology of the Ganga kings of Kalinga, because it is founded on mathematics.

Now we shall verify the date of the Santa Bomvali copper plate. As we have already seen, the document states that the gift was given on *Ashadha* new-moon day, when there was a solar eclipse and the charter was made on the 5th *tithi* of the *Ashadha* of the 323rd year of the *Pravardhamana vijaya-rajya* era. It has been stated that their era began in S. S. 271 or A. D. 349. Therefore the year of the grant corresponds to S. S. 594 or A. D. 672. In this year the new moon day of *Ashadha* fell on 1st June, Tuesday when the *amavasya* ended at 16gh. 12 v. gh. (*Lanka* time) after sunrise. The solar eclipse was before this time and it was visible in Kalinga. The date of the grant corresponds to A. D. 672, June 6, Sunday, when the 5th *tithi* ended at 28 gh. (*Lanka* time) after sunrise. Thus the corrected date stands the mathematical verification also.

The correction of the date is supported by the evidences presented by the script. The corrected date shows that its script belongs to the 4th century of the *Kalinga era* or the 7th century of the Christian era. Two other plates issued by the Kalinga kings belong to this century. The Alamanda plates of Rajendravarma's son Anantavarma, dated 304th year (*E. I.* Vol. III. No. 3). The other is the Tekkali plates of Rajendravarma's son Dēvēndravarma (*E. I.* Vol. XVIII. No. 32) date 310th year. These three sets resemble one another letter for letter. The donors of these three sets form two generations of the same family, the parent of these two generations being Rajendravarma. Thus in every respect the date of the grant under review is proved to be 323 and not 221 as read by the previous scholars.

It is shown above that the year S. S. 271 or A. D. 349 was the 1st of the *Pravardhamana vijaya rajya samvatsaras* and the date of every grant of the Kalinga Ganga kings stands ephemerical verification if it is calculated from this year. This year happens to fall within the period of the invasion of Samudragupta. This fact associated with name of the Ganga era naturally suggests that the Ganga Kings of Kalinga had started this era to foster in their family the event that liberated them from the suzerainty of the kings of Pishthapura. But Mr. Subba Rao says, "if the Gangas had been placed on the Kalinga throne by Samudragupta, they would have adopted the Gupta era dating from 319-20. A. D. and they would not have ventured to start an independent era of their own". But Kalinga was under the domination of Pishthapura till A. D. 349, when Samudragupta defeated the Pishthapura Svamiddatta and made Kalinga an independent kingdom. Naturally the Gangas and their people would feel grateful to the victory that relieved them of the foreign yoke. What connection have they with the Gupta era? The Gupta era was started to commemorate the establishment of the Gupta kingdom; and when this was started, Kalinga

was groaning under an alien government. How can they have any regard for the Gupta era? The victory of Samudragupta enabled them to establish a Kingdom independent of any foreign King; it is but reasonable that they should venerate this event in their family by reckoning the time from the year when this event had happened.

Mr. Rajaguru had an objection to associate the Ganga era with any victory. In editing the Tirlingi copper plate grant, (J. A. H. R. S. Vol. III. part I) he said that because the plate simply mentioned *Pravardhamana rajya* omitting *vijaya* in the phrase, the Ganga era could not be connected to any victory.

Let us now examine the history and the inscription of the plate on which Mr. Rajaguru based his objection. It is a single plate, the last of a set and was discovered at the bottom of a well. The inscription is full of mistakes. For example, ll. 4 and 5. "*Pravardhamana rajya Samvatsara Sitya=ashtaviti.*"¹ It ought to be *Samvatsara ashta=siti*, in correct Sanskrit. As it is written, it should be *Samvatsara =asitya=shta*. But the scribe engraved it incorrectly. Ll. 6 & 7. *Likhita =mutkīrnam chēdam Bhānuchandra*² *Sānuna Vinayachandra=net.* 3.

This Vinayachandra, son of Bhānuchandra is already known to the scholars of Kalinga history. He engraved three sets of copper plates.

- I. Urlam plates of Hastivarma, surnamed Rājasimha or Ranabhita (E.I. Vol. XVII. No. 19) dated in 80th year of the Ganga era.

In ll. 23 and 24 it is said, "*idam Vinayachandrēna Bhānuchandrasya sānuna* [1] *sasanam Rajasimhasya likhitam svamukhajñayā.*"

- II. Achyutapuram plates of Indravarma, surnamed Rājasimha (*ibid.* Vol. III No. 20) dated in 87th year of the Ganga era.

In ll. it is stated "*idam Vinayachandrēna Bhanuchandrasya sānuna* I *sāsanam Rajasimhasya likhitam svamukhajñayā.*"

- III. Parlakimidi plates of Indravarma, surnamed Rajasimha. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. No 169.) dated 91st year of the same era.

In it it is stated, "*idam Vinayachandrena Bhānuchandrasya sununa sasanam Rajasimhasya likhitam svamukhajñaya.*"

Let the readers observe how the Tirlingi single plate differs from these three sets which show that they are genuine because they were all written at the command of Rajasimha, a title common to Hastivarma and his son Indravarma. This Tirlingi plate does not bear any

41. Mr. Rajaguru's reading:—'*Pravardhamāra rājya samvatsarasya ashtāvimsati*'. In the very face of it '*samvatsarasya*' being singular cannot exist. Secondly what he took to be '*Sya*' is clearly '*sitya*' c. f. *Sa* in *Suna* in l. 106 with the *Sa* in what he took to be '*Sya*'. The is the sign of over *Sā*.

2. It was read *Bhānuchandrasya*; but I do not find '*sya*' in the facsimile

3. it was read as '*noti*'. c. f. '*na*' here with '*na*' under '*sha*' in Krishna l. 5.

such expression to show that it had the king's approval. Perhaps it was not engraved by Vinayachandra; it may be a spurious one. That may be the reason for its abode at the bottom of a well. Every one knows that unserviceable articles and as are not to be used again or exposed to public view are generally consigned to depth of wells. No Kalinga copper-plate charter was till now discovered at the bottom of wells; and when they were discovered they were found strung together on an uncut ring the two ends of which were secured in lead soldering impressed with the royal seal. This single plate found in the debris taken out from the bottom of a well in Tirungi might have strayed away from its companions and hid itself in the well because it was conscious of its spuriousness.

All the plates engraved by Vinayachandra, son of Bhānu-chandra give the era, '*Pravaradharmāna Vijaya Rajya Samvatsarādh.*' The other plates: The Chicacole plates of Indravarma dated 128th year of the same era (*Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII.*) the Purle plates of Indravarma dated 137th year of the same era (*E. I. Vol. XIV. No. 27*); the second Chicacole grant of Indravarma dated 136th year of the same era (*Arch. Sur. Ind. Vol. IV. No. 18*); the Tekkali plates of Indravarma dated 154th year of the era (*E. I. Vol. XVIII. No. 31*); the Chicacole plates of Devendravarma dated 183rd year of the same era (*E. I. Vol. III. No. 23*); the Siddhantam plates of Devendravarma dated 195th year of the era (*E. I. Vol. XIII. No. 19*); these and many others including the Santa Bomvali plates above reviewed, all with no exception mention the era in the same expression. In such a case, how can it be denied that the era had no connection to any victory, because the word '*vijaya*' is not given in the name of the era mentioned in a stray plate, for the genuineness of which there is no sufficient testimony. It may be the engraver's mistake. Does such a mistake offer an argument against a statement supported by a number of documents?

Now coming again to the grant which I undertook to review in this paper, there has been a controversial opinion with regard to the name of its donor. Some read it to be Nandavarma and the others read it as Indravarma. It has been shown above that the Santa Bomvali copper plate grant forms one of the three sets issued by the Ganga kings of the early part of the 4th century of their era. In all these sets many scriptural mistakes occur and one of which is the omission of the medial 'ra', e.g. *Rajendravarma* is written *Rajēndavamma* (Alamanda plates). The present charter offers several such mistakes and a few of them may be cited here in support of that statement.

L. 9. *Anēka sankshōbha janita* for *aneka = hava sankshōbha janita*. L. 10. *Pratāpavanata* for *pratāpāvanata*; L. 11. *ñja* is written

differently in the same word: *mañjaripuñja-rañjita*. L. 13. *dakshnyo = Sauryôdârya* for *dâkshinya = sauryaudârya*. c. f. *pu* in *râjaputra* (L. 19) with *a* in *aneka* (L. 9) and also with *a* in Anantavarma (L. 14). In Ll. 15 and 18 the name of the King is given as *Srima = nandavarma*. If it were really Nandavarma, it should have been '*Srima = nnandavarma*' with the initial *n* of the name doubled. The scribe had no where omitted the conjunction of consonants. Since it is not doubled when the name is joined to *Sriman*, the name cannot be taken to be Nandavarma. As in Rajendavarma of the Alamanda plates the medial *r* in '*dra*' is omitted. Moreover, Nandavarma is not a name commonly met with in the family of the Eastern Ganga Kings. The omission of *e* on the initial *n* of the name may be a clerical oversight. Therefore the name of the King is surely Indravarma son of Anantavarma.

I may conclude this review with an apology for having gone into the details of the charters that have been already published. I did this because this will in future induce editors, including myself, to be more careful in handling not only the language and script, but also the dates of the grants of Eastern Gangas of Kalinga. I may take this opportunity to congratulate Sri Sri Sri Lakshminarayana Hari Chandanadev, Rajah Bahadur of Tekkal and Mr. Satyanarayana Rajaguru of Parlakimidi for taking a keen interest to bring to light these copper plate grants. The history of Kalinga will be really enriched with information if the rich Zamindars of the district of Ganjam take genuine interest like the Rajah Sahebs of Tekkal.

RUINS OF A BUDDHIST MONASTERY NEAR RAMPA-YARRAMPALEM

BHAVARAJ V. KRISHNARAO, B. A., B. L.,

Yarrampālem or Rampa-Yarrampālem as it is usually called is a small village of little consequence lying about twenty miles from Rajahmundry, to the north. It is two miles from Gokavaram, a flourishing village situated on the road from Rajahmundry to Rampa-Chodavaram, a place of some importance in the Agency on account of a rebellion that took place in middle of the last century. Yarrampalem can be reached by motor car or buses that are usually available throughout the year as far as Gokavaram and from that place by a bullock cart or on foot. About a mile from the village lies a small hillock which is of historical and archæological interest to us, surround by a range of low hills in a semi-circular form, looking like a horse-shoe, and facing the west. The hill, which is at the foot of this horse-shoe range is popularly called *Pandavula - Metta* or the hill of the Pandavas, by the inhabitants of the village. There is only a small zig-zag foot path leading to the top of the hill along side of which is also visible an old and thoroughly worn out flight of steps which are not used now. Near the hill, on every Saturday a sort of festival takes place and devotees come from the neighbourhood to make offerings to the Pandava brothers credulously believing that hill to be at one time the abode of the Pandavas.

When I was going from Gokavaram to another village my companion told me of the existence of interesting caves and their sanctity on the hill of Yarrampalem which at once aroused my curiosity. I then turned towards that village and requested my friend to take me to the hill. When I reached the foot of hill I discovered that its bottom was lately worked by some quarry contractors for metal and building-stone and that some of the flight of steps leading to the summit of the hill destroyed as the edges were first dug out. When I reached the summit I enjoyed a pleasant surprise for my curiosity was fulfilled and suspicions confirmed. The ruins on the hill clearly revealed the existence of a Buddhist monastery formerly, but now completely destroyed probably by Nature partly and by human agency partly, and finally deserted by its pious occupants, several centuries ago.

Unfortunately I had no camera with me then to take a few photographs of some of the interesting monuments on the hill. I shall,

however, try to give a brief and yet a detailed account of the antiquities found on the hill for the information of those that are interested in general and the Government Archæological Department in particular, so that the latter may make further investigations and unearth some things really important from the point of view of the historian and the archæologist, and protect them from further destruction. Since I saw the hill last, I am informed that some of the villagers had taken keen interest in the monuments as I explained to them the historical interest they bear, and constructed a flight of steps to the top of the hill and carried out some slight repairs to some of monuments out of a superstitious belief.

The hill which is a small and narrow ridge with a flat summit, faces the west standing in the centre as it were in the horse-shoe range of hills commanding a picturesque panorama of view of the neighbourhood for miles together. As we climb it from the west and reach the summit of the hill, five monolith mounds resembling *dagobas* are seen one behind the other, in a row. These five mounds are ignorantly supposed to be the seats of the five Pandava brothers and thus the hill came to be called *Pandavula-Metta*. The first mound from the west is almost destroyed by the stone-workers for taking metal and building-stone and therefore scarcely visible. Quite recently, it is said to have been destroyed and thrown down. The second one is in a better state of preservation while the third one is partly broken owing to a cleavage in the rock. The fourth and the fifth mounds are still in a better condition and can be said to be intact. These existing mounds are about 4 feet high and 6 feet in diameter. Beyond them to the east are to be seen remains of a structure evidently a hall or a *vihara* and further beyond, of another structure which resembled a *chaitya*. Between the *vihāra* and the *chāitya* block on the one hand and the mounds on the other there is on lower level a flight of steps leading to a small cistern measuring four feet deep and two feet wide which is said to have been till recently a perennial source of water supply. Only recently about ten years ago on account of a cleavage in the rock the water supply stopped as the water viens were evidently cut or diverted. Below this cistern containing the fountain there is a small square cave measuring 8 feet by 8 feet, in a lower level, which was reached in olden days by a small flight of stone-built steps but now totally destroyed. Traces of the steps running from the foot of this cave right up to the foot of the *vihara* on the summit of the hill are still faintly visible along the edge of the cistern. On the northern side of the hill correspondingly there is another cave of similar dimensions. From the foot of that cave, run a semi-circular flight of foot steps further downward, where on a lower level are three more caves. Commencing from the west, Caves Nos. 1 and 2 are the largest of all; they

measure roughly 15 feet by 15 feet and 8 feet in height. In the middle of these two caves there are large *dagobas* ornamented with belts and cut in beautiful white stone. The ceiling of these caves is cut in a concave shape so as to form a sort of an umberella (*chatra*) for the *dagoba*. There are two small holes cut in the outer wall of the caves on either side of the doorway, the purpose of which I could not guess. Between these two big caves lies a small cave, No. 3 which is partially destroyed. It is a small one and has nothing particularly attractive about it. Below, to the east of these caves there is large unfinished cave with a big crevice at the other end, large enough for a man to creep in to a distance. The ignorant villagers believe it to be an under-ground passage leading to Benares, through which the Pandava brothers disappeared from the hill. The cave on account of its unfinished nature and low roof is popularly called by the inhabitants of the village, 'weaver's den'. I wanted to go into it and examine, but I was warned and prevented by my guide who told me that sometimes wild animals would be lurking there taking shelter from the heat of the sun. He told me of an instance when a wild boar sprang upon a man who attempted to go into it and examine the other end of the crevice, and nearly killed him, I therefore desisted from making an attempt but satisfied myself by throwing a stone into the unfathomed depths of the cave which made a sound that revealed its hollowness. What it is, none were able to tell me and there is not one who had gone into it within living memory. On the summit of the hill huge bricks are still seen forming as it were the pavement for the *Vihara* that once stood there. The whole area may be dug up and some interesting finds discovered.

On my way back to the village I was informed by my guide that some ancient copper and gold coins were discovered by the people on the hill some time ago and that they were still available with some villagers who were wearing them as talismans. But during my short sojourn I could not obtain any such, but my guide promised to secure them for me in future. There are I am told certain class of persons inhabiting the village called *Pandava-dasas* who on festive occasions get possessed of the Pandava brothers, to whom the ignorant folk give away any curious things they might discover on the hill or in its neighbourhood, however valuable they might be, lest the wrath of the gods might visit them for appropriating to themselves what is not theirs. I could not send for these people for I was not certain of their readiness to appear before me.

From what is to be seen on the hill and in the neighbourhood I am inclined to believe the existence of a Buddhist monastery there at some time. The *Vihara* itself may be assigned to the fifth or the sixth

century of the Christian era but this is only tentative. There are reasons for believing that this Buddhist monastery was in a flourishing condition and the Buddhists of the neighbourhood used to flock to it for spiritual guidance, even as late as the eleventh and twelfth centuries A. D. The Velananti Choda viceroys of Andhradesa, under the Chalukya-Choda emperors of the south during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, were some of them worshippers of Buddha as can be seen from their votive grants to Budhadēva at Amaravati and other local records. Gokavaram which was originally called Gonkavaram appears to have been built and called by some of the Velananti Chodas, amongst whom we have many kings of the name of Gonkaraja or Gonka. Probably one of these Gonkas who was a buddhist founded the town of Gokavaram after his own name and richly endowed the monastery near-by at Yarrampalem.

There are similar caves and traces of Buddhist *vihas* and *chaityas* in other places, in the neighbourhood, notably at Kottapalli, four miles from Gokavaram, and Korukonda eleven miles from Rajahmundry on the same road to Gokavaram and nine miles from Yarrampalem. The Korukonda monastery is visible from the Yarrampalem hill and *vice-versa*. On the Korukonda hill which is situated at a distance of about a mile from the sacred hill of *Lakshminarasimhaswamin* which is at the foot of the village there are nearly five caves all of them partially destroyed leaving however traces of Pallava architecture here and there. All of them face the south and are therefore greatly exposed to wind and rain. A path from the caves leads us to the summit of the hill where there are remains of a big *Chaitya* built of brick. This place, too, deserves excavation but my own belief is that this monastery was destroyed in the days of the revival of Brahmanical, *advaitic* and *visishta-dvaitic* cults during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries of the Christian era, like the one on the top of Yarrampalem hill. Probably Korukonda was originally a Buddhist centre and a place of pilgrimage till the 13th century when it was converted into a centre of Vaishnavite cult and importance. In the fourteenth century the place was given greater prominence and sanctity by the then Reddi kings, Mummadi Nayaka and his brother Singaya Nayaka who embraced vaishnavism and invited Parasara Bhatta VII. from Srirangam to Andhra country and their court at Korukonda and got the temple of Vishnu built on the steep hill near the village. It was probably at this period or a little earlier that the monastery on the hill near Korukonda was demolished, its inmates driven their religion extirpated and vaishnavism established. I did not go and see Kottapalli monastery where I am told there are small figures and statues as well as some paintings. Until I see them I cannot say whether my information is true. On the other side of the river Godavari,

in Kannapuram a village situated a few miles from Kovvur I am credibly informed of the existence of a *Lanja dibba* which is at once suggestive of its Buddhist antiquity. These places therefore deserve careful study and investigation for they are landmarks in the religious history of the Andhras. The only discouraging feature of my visit to Yarrampalem and Korukonda is that I could not discover any old inscriptions in the locality; I may be more fortunate if the Government Archaeological Department carries out excavations in the sites marked by me.

A PERSIAN FIRMAN OF HEJIRA 1146 (1733 A. D.)

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.,

The original Firman in Persian was obtained from the descendants of Yenugu Lakshmana Kavi, now living in Cocanada Taluq by Mr. Vissa Appa Rao, M. A., L. T. and a copy of the same with the translation was given to me for publication.

SUBJECT MATTER OF THE FIRMAN

The Firman was granted under the seal of Anwaruddin, his subordinate Rustumkhan, and the latter's son Nuruddin Hussain Khan, to a certain Achanna Kulkarni in Hejira 1145. Achanna submitted a petition to one Molnul Anam requesting the grant of lands excluded from paying revenue in the villages of certain Paraganas under the rule of the Nawabs. Achanna also desired to have a copy of the original Sanad dated 1146 Hejira. On considering the authenticity of the petitioner an order was made remitting the revenues of the lands in his possession granting a copy of the original and also certain lands given formerly to Antanna Kulkarni in the villages of Bikkol, Ellore, and Sukkoor, in the Government of Rajahmundry by way of gift. This grant was made under the seal of Rustumkhan and Nuruddin Hussain Khan and Naib Anwaruddin Khan.

HISTORY OF THE DECCAN DURING THE PERIOD

On the fall of the great Empire of Aurangzeb, Godavary District formed a portion of the province of Golconda which was one of the 22 Provinces composing the *Subha* of the Deccan. It was usurped by Kurnuruddin Asafjah I., and the greatest of the Nizams who fixed his capital at Hyderabad and showed nominal allegiance to Delhi. Golconda comprised the Nawabships of Arcot, Kurnool, Rajahmundry and Chacacole. The Nizam made Anwaruddin (father of Mohemmad Ali of the Carnatic), the Nawab of the two latter districts. His administration was strong and severe. He was helped by an energetic subordinate Rustumkhan who ruled at Rajahmundry as Nawab. His iron rule is described by James Grant (See page 223 Godavari Dt. Gaz.):—"At length the memorable battle of Shuckerkerd in 1724 gave a transient repose to the Deccan and transferred in fact, though not in form, the sovereignty of this great limb of Moghul Empire to Asafjah. Great were the benefits derived from the vigour and integrity of Rustumkhan

who, from 1732 for seven years, ruled with the most ample delegated sway, at Rajahmundry with the other four Southern Provinces. There, the zamindars availed themselves of the surrounding distractions on the death of Aurangzeb to usurp the rights and feeble authority of their Mohammadan Superintendents. To correct these dangerous abuses and restore the necessary forms of internal administration were the arduous tasks assigned to the new Jilladar; the conduct of the man so fully justifies the Nizam's choice that even to this day it is held in general as an example worthy of imitation for necessary policy, considerable humanity, and rigid and universal justice. At the same time, as the zamindars defrauded the public treasury and as they squeezed, with the iron hand of oppression, the industrious husbandmen and manufacturers, the first object of Rustumkhan's government was a total extirpation of such merciless tyrants. Those who escaped the sword were proclaimed as traitors and a reward offered for their own, with their adherents' heads. A sufficient number was soon collected to erect two of those shocking pyramidal monuments called 'Kullaminar', near each of the provincial capitals, for one of which kind, the cruelty of Nadar Shah is held in Europe so justly in abhorrence. The inhabitants in general feared and admired him and the severe administration of Rustumkhan which he now further distinguished by substituting Amins or temporary collectors in the room of the refractory zamindars was proverbial for exemplary excellence in the Northern Circars."

HISTORY OF THE DONORS

Asafjah ruled from 1724 to 1748 under the title of Nizam-ul-mulk as the independent viceroy at Hyderabad. He divided the Deccan. Subadary into 22 Paraganas of which Rajahmundry was one. He appointed Anwaruddin as Nawab of Rajahmundry and Chicacole Circars. This Anwaruddin appointed a Turkish Officer working under him named Haji Hussain *alias* Rustumkhan as Nawab of Rajahmundry District and empowered him to collect the arrears of revenues from the zamindars of the Circars. Rustumkhan therefore resolved to enter on his duties which were unpleasant. From the local ballad, the song of Rayaparaju, it appears that Rustum and his son Nuruddin were both formerly employed in Peddapur Estate under the Jagapathies or the Rulers of the Samasthanam from the 15th Century. Owing to reasons of policy and ambition Rustum left Peddapur, approached Nawab Anwaruddin for service and by pleasing him got himself raised to the Nawabship of Rajahmundry which office he held from 1732 to 1739 A.D. He was a very firm, just, and hard task-master. The then condition of the Circars was chaotic. Civil strife among the zamindars and their oppression of the weak peasants and absence of all law and order were rampant. Under

those circumstances, Rustum had to discharge his duties and overcome very powerful enemies but this was naturally disliked by the Zamindar of Mogaliturru called Kalidindi Ramaraju and the Zamindar of Nuzvid called Rao Subbanna who joined their forces and fought twice with the Khan with a view to prevent him from establishing himself at Rajahmundry. This was in 1734. The Mogaliturru *Kaifiyat*, a local record collected by Mackenzie, states that when the Mogaliturru Zamindar failed to oppose Rustumkhan successfully he fled bag and baggage from the Estate. Along with the rulers of Nuzvid he reached Peddapur which was then ruled by a lady Ragamma (wife of Vatsavayi Jagapathiraju), who was the regent of her son Timmaraju (1714 to 1734) and again attacked the Khan at Rajahmundry but in vain. This time they reached Pithapur, then under the rule of Rao Venkatakrishnarao. But the Khan getting scent of this, pursued them to Pithapur in 1735 and hence they, along with the ruler of Pithapur fled into Thotapally Agency to raise a rebellion with the help of Konda-Reddies. The Samalkot *Kaifiyat* informs us that all except Butchanna, a relative of the Pithapur ruler died in the Agency while Butchanna was arrested and killed by the Khan. After gaining this victory, Rustum reached Peddapur with a view to take revenge on its rulers who gave help to his enemies, the rulers of Mogaliturru and Nuzvid. But knowing the strength of the fort and the difficulties of siege-warfare, he had recourse to a wily stratagem. The *Kimmur Kaifiyat* tells us that the Khan sent his own son Nuruddin Hussain who was a playmate and friend of the two minor Rajas of Peddapur, with a letter to Rangamma the queen mother in which he praised her just rule and the glories of the ancient and great estate and begged her to send her two sons for an interview with him so that the enjoyment of the estate may be permanently confirmed on them. The queen who confided in the innocent words of Nuruddin and who did not suspect any treachery sent her two sons Timmaraju and Balabhadraraju with only two or three attendants along with Nuruddin who really did not know the real mind of his own father. The interview was as brief and effective as it was tragical because the two young princes were soon burnt to death with boiling oil. The news reached the queen's ears. Thinking that all was over and afraid of the consequences of the fall of the fort the whole harem made a *Jachaur*. But the queen before her death managed to send away the infant son of her elder son, called Jagapathy, aged only 7 months from out of the fort through a trusted female Brahmin servant. The child was destined to reach his relative, the ruler of Vijayanagaram, Pusapati Vijayaramaraj but on the very day the infant was detected and imprisoned at Pithapur. Rustumkhan after reducing the Peddapur fort and leaving a garrison there marched against Pithapur but there he was killed treacherously by his

own son Nuruddin Hussain Khan whodid not like the cruel ways of his father. He also reported the event to Anwaruddin who praised him for the deed and conferred the Nawabship of Rajahmundry on him and even encouraged him to subdue the Chicacole Circar. While Nuruddin reached Chebrole on his way to Kalinga, the army of Vijayaramaraju of Vijayanagaram (the Rajah heard of the fall Peddapur fort and the imprisonment of the royal infant at Pithapur) was upon him. The *Pusapati Kaifiyet* tells us that in the battle of Chebrole, Nuruddinkhan was killed and as a result the royal infant was saved and taken to Vijayanagar. But the Peddapur Estate which fell into Mohammadan hands for the first time in 1734 began to decline.

Rustumkhan must be praised for his military exploits, clever tactics and just and wise policy. He put down greedy zamindars but helped the poor cultivators. He replaced the former by Amins so that he might regularly get the taxes due. He gave grants of lands to poets village officers, and other servants and the present Firman proves the same. The donee of this grant Atchanna Kulkarni was rewarded probably for his loyal and faithful services. Atchanna as well as Antanna referred to in the grant, seem to be related to Lakshmana or Yenugu Lakshmana Kavi who was a court-poet of the Peddapur rulers about this period. Rustum announed large rewards for the capture of rebels and conferred titles on such of the proprietors who readly paid their taxes and helped him with men and supplies. During his seven years of iron and bloody regime, the only black act was the treacherous killing of the Peddapur princes. But this statement which is found in all the *Kaifiyats* or local records as well as the ballads is refuted by the following statement found in the Godavary District Gazetteer:—"The line of descent (Peddapur) was unbroken till 1734 when the estate was ruled by Rangamma who was defeated near Peddapur by Rustumkhan for helping the chiefs of Ellore, Mogaliturru and Pithapur."

ENGLISH TRASLATION OF THE FIRMAN.

Servant of the Religious Code.

Memorandum of Jil Haj 1st 1146 Hej.ra.

The present and future Desmukhs, Despandyas, Tenants and Kulkarnis of the villages and parganas of Kaimoor, Bikkool, Ellore and Sukkur, in the Government of Rajahmundry, a province of Hyderabad shall note that Atchanna Kulkarna has now submitted an application to Moinul Anam requesting the grant of the lands excluded from paying revenue, in the villages of the following Parganas as a means of earning his livelihood. He is expectant that a Sanad according to the original

Memorandum of 1146 Hejira be granted to him. After considering the authenticity of the affirmer of the record in the presence of Sulaiman Murad it shall be left to him as previously, i.e. in *status quo*; the revenue of the aforesaid lands as in the previous year shall be left for his expenses; the original of this copy shall be given to him. Enjoining emphasis, this matter as written above shall be carried into effect.

Note:—From the environs of the town of *Parapur* the aforesaid pargana the first village shall be taken and given. Rupees 73 shall be taken and given. From the aforesaid village, he shall receive according to the memo, some lands given to Antanna Kulkarna, in the villages of Bikkol, Ellore and Sukkur in the Government of Rajahmundry by way of a gift being settled on Atchanna Kulkarna in accordance with the memo under the Seal of Rustumkhan and Nuruddin Hussain Khan, and Naib Anwaruddin Khan. He is expectant of favour and bounty that, conformable to the Sanad under the private seal, may be granted to him in this matter according to the orders.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE BRAHMINICAL HEIRARCHY IN ANCIENT INDIA

S. BHIMASANKARA RAO, B. A.

Continued from page 19 above

IX

Having traced the origin of the Brahmin heirarchy, let us advert to its growth in the subsequent ages. As ages advanced the worship of Gods assumed a more definite and fixed form and consisted of a five fold arrangement Viz. by *Yajña, Avahana, Prardhana, Stuti, Upasana*, sacrifice, invocation, prayer, praise, and meditation, All these required special study and culture. The *hotri* of the *Rigveda* was required to be conversant with the whole of it by heart, word for word. He must know the proper metre to employ in asking for particular blessings and eight different metres are used in the invocation of gods. It became quite impossible for common worshippers to approach the Gods without the aid of the priests. It became an article of belief that if the *hotris* properly intoned the sacrificial hymns and uttered the prayers in proper metres, the result would be unfailing. The profound idea at the root of this conception was that the Universe was founded upon harmony.

The *Udgâtris*, the priests who chanted the *Sāmavêda* hymns, had to sing in a musical tone and for this they invented the *sāma gâna*, a song book, and numerous and elaborate rules have been devised for the music and intonation of the sacred vedic hymns in order to attain the highest rythm of harmony and melody. The 8th and 9th books of the *Rigvêda* consist of invocations sung in praise of *Sōma* while it was pressed over, by the stones and as it flowed through the woollen strainers into the jars in which it was ready to be offered to Gods on high, and to worshippers on earth. The art of fermentation was known to all the early races and chiefly, among the Iranians and Aryans, and the *Soma* or the *Hovoma* plant which grew in abundance on mount Mujavat, was considered to have powerful intoxicating qualities, in addition to having exhilarating unvigourating effects. This celebrated *soma* plant from which the celestial drink is extracted has been much praised by vedic poets and has attained a third rank among vedic deities, Indra and Agni being the first and second. The preparation of the

sacred drought, from *soma* was looked upon as a sacred ceremony, as a holy sacrifice for which a number of priests had to qualify themselves in the work of extracting and fermenting the sacred juice and these *soma* offerings were made thrice daily and accompanied all public worship.

There are about 460 hymns of *Samaveda* regarding *Soma* worship and though much spiritual edification could not be derived from them, yet the worshippers found plenty of sentiment in them to produce conviviality and gratification of the senses and as a study of the ancient heroes daily life and religious worship, these *soma* hymns will always remain of great historical and social value.

X

As time passed on and ages advanced, these Aryans moved on towards the east and we come to the Yajurvedic times in which we find that the centre of vedic civilization has shifted from the Punjab in the north to the *Madhyadesa*, the present United Provinces and Oudh which were the *Kosala* and *Videha* provinces. Before these Aryans moved towards the Eastern territories, the Dravidian civilization had been prevailing to a larger extent and it contained many superstitious forms of religious worship and belief and the aboriginal tribes recognised these Dravidians, as the divinely appointed medium between the worshippers on earth and Gods on high. These Dravidians were looked upon with great respect and veneration by the aboriginal races, and a fatherly despotism both in Church and state was prevalent among them. Gradually as the Aryan invaders came and settled down in occupation in these eastern countries, they had to come in conflict with this Dravidian civilization, some of whose features must necessarily creep into the Aryan system. The victorious Aryan invader became the inheritor of the Dravidian civilization to a large extent and perforce, he was obliged to copy and assimilate some of its main features. The old Aryan democratic system had to give place and make room for a fatherly despotism both in church and state. The Rigvedic poets and priests stepped into the place of those Dravidians and began to command respect and veneration from all ordinary folk. These Aryan bards and family priests became the spiritual and religious teachers while the Aryan chieftains became the secular despotic rulers. Owing to the intermixture of the Aryan and the Dravidians and consequent fusion of these two, the weaker of which had necessarily to succumb, and the stronger Aryan system gradually asserted itself, but it got entangled itself in many of the superstitions of the non-Aryans. Instead

of freedom of worship and a commonwealth free from kingly oppression, they were compelled to continue, the patriarchal despotism in church and state. Instead of political equality, free from all caste restraints they had to adopt a fully developed caste system inherited from the Dravidians based upon races, blood and occupation with its iron rules of fixed stratas according to birth, which were looked upon as divine election, not to be tampered with, instituted by heaven for the regulation of the society. Instead of the vedic poet-priests, whose office could be filled by any one from the Tribes, who had the necessary gifts, the Aryan priesthood was now invested with supernatural sacredness and confined to one caste which was looked upon as the only mediator and intercessor who had the influence with the unseen powers, the Brahmin, being conceived as the incarnation of the highest and through him only blessings could be received and evil spirits could be warded off. Instead of adhering to the early Aryan spiritual nature worship which was independent of a sacred caste, the public and private worship was now based upon elaborate rituals together with expensive animal and other sacrifices, which the priesthood alone was capable of performing. The priesthood composed of the Brahmins, who from generations inherited the spiritual attainments of the highest order, full of devotional and self-sacrificing spirit, were looked upon as God's chosen representatives and vassals upon earth and grew in popular estimation and worth. The various superstitious forms of Dravidian worship had gradually crept their way into, and absorbed the simple Aryan faith and had quite overshadowed it, it being found that the simple fire and elemental cult were no longer sufficient. A complicated system of ritualistic ceremonies, having symbolical significances and thought, necessary to influence the powers on high, had to be introduced, and thus *Yajurveda* came into existence. With the elaboration of sacrificial rites, a new class of officiating priests called *Adhvaryus* who constructed the Altars, prepared the sacrificial services, killed the victims, lit the fire on the altar of sacrifice, poured out libations and did manual work, was ushered into existence and each priest should know by heart word for word, the part he had to play in the religious services with the euphonic rules, in modulated tones in a certain key, for reciting the invocations during the services so that there might be a correct performance of the sacrifices to the most trivial minutiae. Without this intimate knowledge no priest could officiate, and it became a settled conviction that there should not be slightest mistake in the performance of these sacrifices as it would destroy their efficacy and redound back to the detriment of the sacrificer. The three canonical texts of *Rik*, *Soma*, *Yajûmshi*, are known as *Trayiveda* or *Triveda* which were chiefly concerned with the sacrificial ceremonials in all their intricacies. In the *Rigveda*, the *Hotri* (priest) recites the hymns of praise and prayer, in the *Samaveda*, where the *Udgatri* (priest) chants the *soma* hymns with

drink offerings, in the *Yajurveda* the *Adhvaryu* (priest) intonates the incantations and prayers in modulated tones. By the time of *Yajurveda*, the fusion between Aryan and Dravidian races has been far advanced, so much so, that many of the religious notions and practices of the latter were incorporated with the primitive Aryan faith which led to the growth of the whole sacrificial and ceremonial system with all its complications, in all the smallest items of which, the greatest weight was laid. Fourteen kinds of sacrifices from ordinary *Agnihotra* which every *grihasta* had to maintain, to *Agnistoma*, *Poundarika* and *Chayana* have been devised. The non-aryans had various forms of worship such as Phallic, Totemistic or animal worship. The phallic is sex worship or what we call, *Devipuja*. Totemistic worship is that of animals such as goat bull, cow, serpent &c. Besides these, they had a tutelary guardian-worship and ancestor-worship and the worship of a number of spirits who throng in heaven, earth, sea, rivers, and wells which have to be appeased. Every village had its presiding deity, the *gramadevata* which had to be worshipped. Plants, such as *Tulasi*, *Kusa*, *Bilava* are considered sacred and are worshipped. In addition to these there are female tutelary deities who preside over epidemic diseases such as plague, cholera and small-pox, which are attributed to evil spirits whose influence must be warded off by appropriate sacrifices and offerings. It will therefore be seen that priesthood became absolutely necessary to the common people who had sincere and implicit faith in the performance of these various kinds of worship and sacrifice, and believed to be necessary for human happiness, progress and their very existence. It was an article of implicit belief among all ordinary people, that the due performance of the various sacrificial rites and ceremonies would certainly please the gods who would shower their choicest blessings on mankind, and thus the power of the priest gradually increased and his influence over the populace had become very great. In as much as the propitiatory sacrificial services have been considered to be all important, the energies of the priesthood and the people were almost exclusively devoted in the direction of these ritualistic practices.

It was further thought that by proper repeating of the mystic formulæ i.e. *mantras*, there would be abundant rain, good crops, health, wealth and victory, and this must be done by the priesthood. Even in the Rigvedic times we notice the worship of the rain god, *Parjanya* in a number of hymns. The priesthood was in great requisition in every family, for no sooner a person is born than oblations must be offered to Gods. From birth to death, every step in life is accompanied by religious services. No other country in the world has been so much under the power of the sacerdotalism as India.

XI

Next the *Atharvana Veda* introduces us to another kind of beliefs and practices, for it deals with charms, spells, curses, astrology, witchcraft and demon-worship and contains a series of formulæ and prescriptions regarding them. The *Atharvan* Angiras deals with charms and astrology and *Bhrugu* Angiras deals with the spells etc. All this has been taken from the Dravidian system and the Aryan priesthood became experts in utilising the same for the general public. It will thus be seen that the simple Aryan faith and custom has become greatly complicated, as times went on, by the incorporation of the religious practices and beliefs of the non-Aryans which required the intercession of the priesthood, who became absolutely necessary to all people. This therefore accounts for the growth of the power and influence of the Brahmin Priesthood.

The salient teaching of the *Atharvana veda* consists of secret formulæ and mystic rites and imprecations to ward off diseases, noxious animals, wizards, demons, dangerous foes, and bodily ailments and it contains many *mantras*. It was believed that humanity is subject to the many ills caused by unseen powers and evil spirits and can only be dealt with effectively by mystic formulae and rites with *mantras*. A *mantram* is a charm or spell supposed to cause destruction of all evil forces and malignant spirits. An *Atharvan* priest was believed to be capable of rendering great service to the people by causing the overthrow and destruction of all enemies of mankind. The 19th hymn of the 3rd book of *Atharvana veda* indicates the position of the royal chaplain, the *purohit*. It is there said that *purohit* fortifies the kingdom of the princes, augments their energy and valour, breaking the arms of their enemies, by his *mantras* and oblations and that with his prayer, he destroys his enemies and blesses the country with prosperity. These priests who possessed these supernatural powers are called *yatuvidâh*, who to a large extent conducted these social, domestic and tribal practices. It is not possible to describe the various kinds of spells, charms, and incantations mentioned in the *Atharvana veda* in the brief compass of this paper. Suffice it only to say that it had greatly augmented the power and influence of the priesthood.

XII

Having considered the origin and growth of the Brahminical Heirarchy in ancient India, let us advert as to how they developed and consolidated their power and influence which they acquired by dint of their intellectual ability and energy, and how they succeeded in carrying

out their ambitious project of erecting a spiritual empire over India. The Brahmanical priesthood has been sharply criticised for superstition, idolatry and ignorance. It has been said that the Brahmin was responsible for all its prevalence. But the critics failed to take note of the fact that the Aryan priesthood were only a handful of men compared to the millions of the aboriginal races and Dravidians who formed the bulk of population and among grosser forms of superstition as beliefs, religious practices and inhuman customs prevailed. Modern Historical Research tends to show that at the time when the Aryans colonised and made settlements and spread themselves in India, the Dravidian civilization was in full swing with various religious faiths connected with gloomy, revolting and bloody rites of devil, serpent and other degrading worships. The difficulty of the Aryan priesthood was to convert them gradually into their own spiritual faith and it must be borne in mind that what goes by the name of Hinduism is a fusion of the Aryan faith with sundry Dravidian and Aborigines' faith. The missionary efforts of the Aryan priesthood went a long way to stop many of the grossest customs then current, and were not without practical results. The Aryan priesthood could not, all at once, enforce their higher spiritual culture and faith among the Dravidian and aboriginal masses and they attempted to secure their willing acceptance from the latter, by persuasive methods and so they proceeded upon lines of least resistance and on the principle of wise tolerance. They knew full well that religious beliefs consisting of gross superstitions inherited from generations could not be so easily changed even for a higher and for a purer faith. The oriental is the child of custom and clings to it with an amazing tenacity and consequently the Brahmin priesthood showed their wisdom and moderation by acting upon the slower and more effectual method of compromise and were content to leave many things as they were, and as time went on, they succeeded in reforming their faith and practices. The Brahmin priesthood, deeply conscious of its higher spiritual faith, desired to establish a theocracy in India to be substituted for the various corrupt religious systems of the Dravidian and aboriginal races. The Aryan *rishis* in the plenitude of their higher spiritual wisdom conceived that the only true solution to bring peace, holiness and happiness down upon a sin-stricken world, is the establishment of a wide spiritual empire and it has been their pious aspiration all through. They realised that oneness in everything, pertaining to religious and civil life without any uncertainty was laid down by divinity in Heaven. They also saw that Theocracy, the spiritual empire over the souls of men was the only true solution of the world's problem, as it would unify and draw all nations and tribes into one vast community with one king in heaven and earth, one government, one faith, one ideal, one system of laws, for all high and low, one

revelation of all truth to all men, one caste of devout self sacrificing souls to promulgate God's ordinances upon earth and present the people's prayers, praises and sacrifices. This splendid ideal has been transformed into an actual reality by the wise, far-seeing Aryan Brahmin *rishis* who built the social structure upon three fundamental principles, viz. religion, family life, and fixed livelihoods for the spiritual and temporal welfare and happiness of all people. With regard to religion, first, with wonderful skill and labour and with a just appreciation of the needs of humanity, the devout Aryan priesthood constructed a system, in which religion permeated the whole social, family and personal life of the people down to the minutest details, all under the supervision and control of Brahmins, who were the promulgators of the Divine Ordinances and who were specially fore-ordained for this purpose from eternity, to devote themselves to these sacred duties. In no other country in the world, has the religious spirit sunk so deeply and operated upon the whole so beneficially and so unceasingly, for thousands of years as in India, affecting profoundly the whole life, customs, usages and views of the Aryan nation. Much honour and reverence is therefore due to the Aryan Brahmin priesthood who struck the right key note to all human life in their efforts, to establish a well-ordered peaceful and permanent society by founding it upon religion. It is this foundation that ordinarily impells a Hindu to pursue a right course of conduct, and refrains him from doing misdeeds and wicked actions. Needless to say it has become quite a national characteristic, though we are taunted now and then that we Hindus are nothing but religious and it has become a part and parcel of our very nature and is looked upon as a great asset of our national life.

XIII

Next comes the family life. The whole Aryan social system has been built upon the solid foundation of a well regulated and united family life. There is no nation on earth where family ties and affections are so close and intense. A hindu is bound to provide not only for his wife and children but for all his needy relations, who may be driven to seek his shelter. Although it is a great drain upon his resources, it is looked upon as a sacred duty and a religious privilege. Several generations of old and young, live in a hindu home. Further he had to perform yearly sacrifices and ceremonies to provide for the spiritual nourishment of three generations preceeding him. Thus the head of a hindu family had a real responsibility. The Hindu family is thus very intense in its

joys and sorrows, it has acquired a deep significance and is looked upon as a religious sacrament of the most solemn kind. The family life begun upon the earth is continued in their eyes for ever, in a man's future existence. The past, present, and future are all linked in one unbroken family chain, which stretches from earth to heaven, from time to eternity. It was owing to this view-point that the Hindu nation, in spite of all convulsions it has been subject to for ages, in spite of dynasties rising and falling, every thing changing around it, maintains in its humble and simple family life, an unbroken front towards the world.

For this the Brahmin priesthood had to be thanked and honoured. Bishop Caldwell, a European missionary who resided for many years in India and who had a closer acquaintance with Hindu manners and customs, gives the following unstinted testimony with regard to the family virtues of the Hindus. "I admire their temperance, patience, gentleness, courtesy. I admire their care of their relatives to the farthest removed, and I admire the primæval work of their village system and their social system."

XIV

The third foundation upon which the Brahmins built their spiritual empire is the much abused caste system, parcelling out society in definite occupations. In those early ages it worked wonderfully well whether looked upon from a national and political point of view, or simply from a social and utilitarian point of view. This caste system or social strata which is probably the chief reason for the stability of Indian society arose out of the three elements, namely distinctions of nationality, of livelihood, and those arising from pure merits. In those early ages, caste system was looked upon more or less as a trade-guild or trade-union, and has proved in the past to be of enormous national value to the state. Each caste-guild ensures the proper training for its own special craft, makes its own rules for the conduct of its business, regulates the supply and output, and fixes prices on co-operative or joint system allowing none of its members to starve, creating good feeling and *comradarie* by feasts and social gatherings, providing a salutary check upon the conduct of the individuals composing it by inflicting severest social penalty for the transgression of its rules, and lastly promoting industry and teaching self-sacrifice for its welfare and progress. Caste rules have become part and parcel of the very religion of a Hindu, may they have become its very essence. These rules influence the whole of his life and conduct, and to violate the law of caste is considered even now as a heinous sin, as they are considered identical with moral laws.

The caste system has restrained vice and prevented pauperism tending to contentment and less harassment from the absence of competition, which being regulated by the guilds, made society orderly and progressive. In India every trade, every profession, every guild, every tribe, every clan had drifted into a caste, the members of which have their own special objects of worship, selected from the hindu pantheon and exclusively act together and exclusively marry into their own caste. Thus a solidity is given to all sorts of men, hence the old natural elements of society have been preserved under the influence of the caste in extraordinary completeness along with ancient institutions and ideas. Every caste community formed itself into a republic and was believed to be a part and parcel of Theocracy, in which God's laws promulgated by the Brahmin Heirarchy are the statute book of the nation; and it appealed to the religious sense of the people. The underlying truth which guided the Brahmins, was that the inequalities found in all human society have their counterpart in the constitution of the Universe itself. It was seen by them that there exists an eternal unchangeable relation of mutual dependence between all things in cosmos. It is asserted that the division of society into castes was obviously part of God's plan of regular gradation and mutual help. Nature is seen to work on division of labour. To reach perfection, nature resorts to specialization of work and introduces variety in humanity whether in bodily forms or mental gifts. Some are born to rule, having the capacity to organise and rule, others have little brains, while some others had brawny arms, that make capital servants but cannot rise higher. Some develop minds of meditative cast, others are practical and so in endless combinations. Hence the Brahmins taught that the solidarity of mankind does not mean the equality of man but that humanity is an organism and that the head rules the body. These inequalities of the humanity have been explained by the theory of species as it obtains in the lower creation. They argued that as there are species in the animal kingdom such as horse, cow, buffalo and other animals which are all four footed beasts and have other things in common, yet in their essentials belong to different species which can never breed together nor have things in common, so likewise in human society. Both in the animal and human kingdoms the principle of species acts universally and unceasingly. From this they inferred that it was impossible for the fair-skinned and high spirited Aryan to associate with the flat-nosed and thick-lipped Aborigines, who revelled in degrading practices, with repulsive appearances who must necessarily belong to a different species than that of their own. They thought that they were of two different

species showing a wide, impassable gulf. Thence Brahmins in their patriotism and religious fervour sacrificed everything for their ideal of social and religious purity as well as to their pride of blood, for purity of caste could only be preserved by purity of blood, and the most obvious way of preserving this was by preventing intermarriage and family intercourse as also prohibiting the sharing of food and living with other castes. The Brahmins deeply impressed by this belief of species being found in humanity as in the lower creation, unflinchingly applied it rigidly to the whole of the caste system in their Theocracy. Seeing that each caste belonged to a different species, no caste could marry into another and there resulted in a vast number of independent organised social groups, each religiously keeping to itself. One way of solving the caste system was by the theory of species and another was the theory of succession, i. e. gifts and abilities descended to the children in strict succession as did the property, land and other things. This conception arose from the notion held everywhere in those ages, that by confirming a trade to one family from one generation to another, the acquired tendencies and aptitudes would descend to each succeeding race and there would be better progress of humanity.

XV

The Brahmins lastly based their caste system upon birth which means in election based upon merits, for in whatever caste a man is born into, to this he must belong till his death. It was pointed out that man's past, present and future existence are one complete whole, and must not be judged from a fragmentary part. This life constitutes one of the many lakhs of lives which man had to undergo on the mundane existence. If it is asked why one was not born a brahmin, but in a lower caste, their reply is that a man's entrance into this life, in a particular caste was not done by divine favour at all but on the basis of strictest justice and on the merits of his own deeds (*Karma Phala*). It was in fact a case of merit pure and simple and this merit again rested with the man himself, for as he lived in this present probation so would his future caste be selected for him. It all depends upon his own character and life and conduct in this life. If he conducts himself properly, his next birth must necessarily be into a higher plane of life and so on until he reaches the Brahmin caste. Therefore, they say that there is every encouragement for every faithful hindu in the divinely appointed caste system, no room for jealousy or despair. To be born in a particular caste did not seem to be a matter of vital importance in a spiritual sense, and it was accepted with perfect cheerfulness, low as it might be, as it would last only a short time in the eternity,

and the wise thing was to prepare by pious living and becoming fit to advance into higher caste in the next transmigration of the soul. The present life was considered only as a fleeting existence and consequently a man's aim in this life must be, to so work himself up as to deserve a higher life in the next one. In the Biblical expression of the Christian apostle, St. Paul, the Brahmin would say, "Let every man abide in his calling wherein he was called" (1. *Corinthians* VII.20). Other nations in antiquity introduced Theocracy into the world but none of them survived today except the Brahmin Theocracy, inspired and directed by the Aryan Brahmin *rishis* of old, and all other Theocracies have been swept away in the ocean of time. They assert that the civil and religious life of a nation placed under their charge in this system of Theocracy would be infinitely superior to and richer than any other, devised by the wit of man.

Let me not be understood as playing the role of an apologist of the caste system. The function of the historian is simply to trace out the origin, growth and development of institutions and their underlying ideals but not to pronounce verdicts. Although to our modern eyes, caste may appear to be an anachronism in the 20th century and anti-national and anti-social, yet we must recognise that originally it originated in religious, social and still more in racial necessity, and it is its vindication and the explanation for its astonishing permanence. By guarding the purity of their blood and by not marrying into lower castes, the Brahmins preserved their higher spiritual civilisation and proved that they were by birth and breeding the ordained priests of Heaven's true intellectual aristocracy. A Brahmin still values the inheritance of his father too much to imperil it lightly. Indeed all down the stream of Indian History there has been wise and spiritually minded men among the Brahmins who were poets, philosophers, priests and devotees.

XVI

Next after the vedic period, we come to the period of *Brahmanas*, *Upanishads* and *Sutra* literature. These include and consist of the oldest explanations of the ritualistic sacrifices, the oldest traditional narratives, the oldest philosophical speculations, and represent the extraordinary intellectual activity of the Aryan Brahmin Heirarchy and indicate their thirst for knowledge and their ambition to utilise it for mankind. At every centre of Brahminism there were schools for imparting instruction in the sacred texts and general and special

knowledge. From these intellectual nurseries, trained Brahmins went forth to spread their influence and learning and to act as priests, advisers and councillors of kings and became leaders of intellectual thought and knowledge in the whole of India. The voluminous Upanishadic literature of the Aryan Brahmin *rishis* represents the acme of the highest philosophical thought, to which human mind can soar, and has not so far been excelled by any other system of thought, either ancient or modern, in regard the ultimate problems of life. How to reach the absolute, to prove the infinite from the finite, to prove the self of man as part of the highest self of Brahman, to find unity in diversity, to know the nature of things, to solve the question of man's destiny to explain the origin of the world and the mystery of life, how to get rid of pain and sorrow and release him from the shackles of birth and death, and such kind of abstruse metaphysical problems have been propounded and tackled with. The philosophy of the *Upanishads* still holds the undisputed field among the greatest thinkers of the world and it has elicited the greatest encomium from Dr. Schopenhaur the great German savant, that it was his solace of life. Its fundamental doctrine expressed in the celebrated dictum *Tatvamasi* the unity of all being which constitute the Universe has been still regarded as unassailable in the field of speculative thought, and little did those great Aryan thinkers, the Brahmin *rishis* of old, rich in their spiritual wisdom, think that they should become teachers of the whole humanity in subsequent ages and stamp these thoughts upon succeeding generations for more than three thousand years.

XVII

Next the large extent of the *sutra* literature regulating the national, social, and religious life reveals the highest intellectul activity of the Brahmin Heirarchy, which to this day commands the unquestioned allegiance of all Hindus. There are manuals or text books of ritualistic ceremonies, domestic rites, and laws according to which mankind had to conduct themselves in all worldly concerns. The *Kalpa sutras*, relating to all ritual, the *Grihya sutras*, relating to all family life and the *Dharma sutra* relating to all laws are still followed, though not in their entirety by all the Hindus. These lay down precise and concise rules in nemonical aphorisms, for the constitution of the Hindu social and religious fabric, the due co-ordination of the different orders of society and the regulation of domestic and family life. The whole social and religious life in India is based upon them and the rules contained therein are implicitly obeyed and followed even at the

present day. The whole social system is then enforced by sanctions preserved by customs, guarded by rites, consecrated by religious association and is thus able to maintain itself for centuries, without obliteration. No praise is too little for the Brahmin authors of this *sutra* literature, (Asvalayana, Apastamba, and Gobila,) which still endures to this day. In the department of law, the Brahmins occupied a high position as law-givers and *Manavadharma Sâstra*, *Yājñavalkya smṛiti* and *Parâsara smṛiti* justify such a claim. In the region of politics Kautilya's *Arthasastra* and *Sukranitisâra* attest to their intellectual superiority, genius and administrative talent. The system of education devised by them is also highly efficient containing as it does six courses of study *siksha*, *kalpâ*, *chandasa*, *Nirukta*, *Vyakarana* and *Jyotisha*. They comprise a variety of subjects, and great attention is attached in imparting instruction to the public. *Siksha* is phonetics with pronunciation and accent so necessary for all vedic study and any *apasvara* is regarded as taking the student to hell. *Kalpâ* deals with the ritualistic ceremonial. *Vyakarana* led to the development of sanskrit language in its great copiousness and refinement and so it became the repository of all Hindu laws, customs and creeds. *Nirukta* is philology and etymology. The *chandasa* or prosody is a study of vital importance from the vedic point of view. The Brahmin priests attached a great religious meaning to the use of metres and consequently they invented the seven notes of music in the invocation of Gods, during sacrifices. This idea arose from the astrological conception that the seven worlds which constitute the cosmos were arranged with the aid of metres; hence the harmony of spheres. The sacred metre of the Aryan Brahmin *rishis* is the *Gayatri* containing thrice eight syllables and other metres are *Tristubh*, *Anstubh*, *Jagati*, *Pankti*, *Buhati* and *Virija*. The last branch of study is Astronomy including Astrology (*Jyôtiṣha*) dealing with the movements of heavenly bodies and their influence on human affairs. It was necessary to study Geometry in connection with the measurements of sacrificial areas and the building up of altars for the performance of *Yajña*. The three chief altars, *Ahavaniya*, *Garhapatya* and *Dakshinagni* must be constructed in square, round and rectangular shapes. Greatest care was taken in the construction, and every thing in divine service was arranged to give satisfaction to the Gods. The learned Aryans who realised all unity of knowledge made no distinction between various branches, such as religion, philosophy and science, which are based on Vedas, the treasure-house of divine knowledge. The intellectual activity of the Brahmins gave India a learned language for all higher branches of study, a fixed form of Government, an organised social system, an elaborate religious system, embracing the minutest part of

life and living, legal codes, a highly philosophical system and ethical maxims of unsurpassed sublimity.

XVIII

We have up till now traced the origin and sketched the growth and development of the Brahmin Heirarchy in Ancient India down to the period of *Brahmana* literature. When we come to the Epic times, we find that the Brahmin priesthood has not yet attained the superior position and they were still next to the Kshatriya Aristocracy which represented the royal power. The principal political development of epic age was the gradual consolidation of the small tribal confederations which characterised the vedic period into considerable states ruled by hereditary dynasties and the institution of kingship was greatly strengthened. A strong central government was found necessary to enforce social laws and prevent the country from drifting into anarchy. By the Epic period the Aryan state had acquired a fully developed constitution and the royal *purohit* or chaplain became the first minister of the crown, being the chief spiritual adviser of the sovereign, who should be learned in the Vedas and versed in the *mantras* competent both to curse and bless, who should be a man of great strength of character and strict morals, who should be thoroughly conversant with politics and diplomacy and who should know the science of archery and should be the master of military arms and tactics. The Brahmin thus became the real power behind the throne and gradually became the custodian of the Aryan tradition and culture and the Brahmin *Asrama* developed into a university town where all the youth of the twice born classes went for instruction.

The *Aitareya Brahmana* and *Satapatha Brahmana* give us many important historical facts with regard to the social and political developments of the Aryan constitution. It has already been said that the Epic period is one of great political expansion during which a profound fusion of the various tribes and races went on and it is also a period of great geographical expansion and social consolidation. The consciousness of the Aryans had already begun to awaken to a sense of justice and responsibility to the vast non-Aryan population. Priests lent their paternity to the non-Aryan tribes and the kings afforded protection to the new members of the growing community by taking a vow that they would protect them from all wrongs at the time of *Rajasūya*. The geographical extension, coupled with the racial enrichment reacted inevitably on the political constitution of the people. In the Epic period the king became the centre of all national life. The *Rajasūya*

is a popular rite of anointing a king. The *Vajapeya* shows its popular character in the importance which it ascribes to the chariot races, and *Asvamedha* is the elaboration of both. The inauguration of these rites and sacrifices testify to the profound originality of the Brahmin *rishis* and indicates a political concentration of the isolated tribal chieftains around a great chief in the face of a common danger and the *Aitareya Brahmana* says that those who had no king, had no success in battle (२८-२९) *arajata*. There had been many sharp conflicts between the spiritual power of the Brahmin and the temporal power of the king. The Brahmin demanded the purification of the sovereignty before conceding the right of guiding the destinies of the people. The kings had to submit to the discipline and to perform certain ceremonies and take some oaths at the time of *Rajasuya*. The *mantras* as well as the oaths pronounced at the time of consecration of the kings shows that he was not irresponsible and without control but subject to popular will, as expressed in the political and social *Samitis* and *Sabhas*. More effective was the control resulting from the spiritual power of the Brahmin *purohit* who proved to be the surest, safest and easily accessible protector of the people. The charge against the Brahmin priest that he oppressed the people is entirely false historically. On the other hand he was a better guide and a great friend of the people and acted as a powerful check against the inroads of the Royalty on commonality. The brahmanical ascendancy was a great moral force in society. It is remarkable that the priests considered it to be a principle to court poverty and generally to renounce wealth and rank. It is on account of that high spiritual communism that Brahmins maintained a great social influence among the people for centuries together. The ritualistic symbolism connected with consecration of a king has developed many Hindu political terms and has a clear significance from an ethical point of view. The spiritual power represented by the Brahmin priests acted as a check on the moral character of the king and kept him straight in the path of right duty and it naturally exercised a considerable influence on the constitutional evolution in Ancient India.

Dr. Keith says that the Vedic *Purohit* is the fore-runner of the Brahmin statesman who from time to time has shown conspicuous ability in the management of affairs and there is no reason to doubt that a *Visvāmitra* or a *Vasistha* was a most important element in the early vedic realm. Politics, religion and sociology are not watertight compartments in the ancient Aryan state and are not disassociated from each other. Each acted and reacted upon each other and have

grown up together without being separated from each other. Thus the ancient Aryan State is essentially a religious Socio-political state.

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Thus we find that in the epic times the Brahmin priesthood acquired a great political importance and the influence of the Brahmin intellectual aristocracy both politically and socially had greatly increased. The Brahmins who were experts in sacrificial lore and respected by the people as religious teachers, challenged the supremacy of the Kshatriyas who were the military and political leaders on the ground that the discipline of mind and body which was a fundamental principle of Aryan Philosophy was an indispensable element of success in war and politics as it was for the spiritual development of those who sought divine truth. Thus the Brahmin University developed into a school of Arms and Military Tactics and Political Science and thus we find all the heroes of Mahâbhârata being trained by Brahmin instructors like Drôṇachârya and Kripâchârya in their *Asrama*. Such was the predominant position which the Brahmin Heirarchy had attained during the Epic times down to the birth of Buddha and the dawn of Buddhism. In the next article we will follow the fortunes of this Brahmin priesthood and describe how the Brahmin Heirarchy has fallen on evil days to be supplanted by the Buddhist *sangha* and Buddhist *Bikshus* and how again during the Gupta period it regained its lost supremacy.

To be continued.

SOME INTERESTING FACTS ABOUT THE KAKATIYAS.

M. RAMA RAO, B.A. (HONS.)

The Kākatiya period is of paramount interest to the History of India in general and that of the Andhras in particular. It follows the Vengi period of Andhra glory and precedes that of the Vijayanagar period. Having its origin in the comparatively small District of the Sabbi Sayira, the stream of Kakatiya glory and expansion, spread to the neighbouring lands and soon engulfed the whole of the region lying between the Malaya mountain in the north, Conjeevaram in the south, Kalyan in the west and the sea on the east. The interest of the period is many-sided. Apart from the economic, social cultural and religious conditions of the Kakatiya period, a great deal of interest lies in the dynastic history and the family relations of the Kakatiyas.

The first point that deserves our attention is whether the Kakatiyas were *Kshatriyas* or not. This point was discussed at length in the pages of the Journal of the Telugu Academy by Messrs. J. Ramiah Pantulu and V. Niladriraju.¹ I would only mention their respective arguments in brief. Mr. Ramiah Pantulu argues that the Kakatiyas were not *kshatriyas* and that they never belonged to any of the two prominent *vamsas* and quotes some verses from Vidyanatha's *Prataparudriya* in support of his view.² He also contends that the dynasty had professed enmity with *kshatriya* rulers of the time.³ Mr. Raju answers this contention, saying that there were many dynasties which belonged neither to the solar nor to the lunar race, but were still mentioned in the Puraṇas as *kshatriyas* of great repute.⁴ The Kakatiyas might be one such family. Further the contention that they had conflicts with *kshatriyas* is answered by the

¹ Journ. Tel. Acad. X, p. 215

² అత్తిక్కందు కలపక్క పైమప్ప ద్వంకాకీర్తనావ్యయం॥

క్షుద్రక్షత్రియ పక్షక్షణవిధౌ పాక్షప్త కాక్షయకాః॥

Prataparudriyam

³ Ibid.

⁴ The Chaidya Vamsa to which belonged Nala and the Haihaya Vamsa to which belonged Kartavirya.

argument that the Kakatiyas were great empire-builders and as such came into conflict with minor *kshatriya* chieftains, without prejudice to the *kshatriya* ancestors of either the conqueror or the conquered. Again Mr. Raju adduces direct evidence from the *Prataparudriya* itself to prove that the Kakatiyas were *kshatriyas* and that Vidyānātha intended to represent them as such.⁵ The mythical origin of the Kakatiyas is the next point at issue. Mr. Ramiah contends that the non-human origin of the Kakatiyas lends support to his view.⁶ While Mr. Razu gives a figurative interpretation of it and further supports his view by stating that the above mythical origin is common to many ruling chiefs of the present day.⁷ His other contention that the Kakatiyas must have been *kshatriyas* because many modern ruling families claim connection with them is more speculative. On the whole, the arguments against the contention that they were *kshatriyas* seem to be more weighty than those in favour of it.

An investigation as to what race the Kakatiyas belonged to throws further light on the above discussion. There are two theories with regard to the race or *vamsa* of the Kakatiyas. One is that they belonged to the Solar race and is based upon the inscriptions of Gaṇapati-dēva. The *Ekamranatha* temple pillar inscription of the time of Gaṇapati which was erected by Sāmanta Bhōja, one of his ministers⁸ gives the pedigree of the Kakatiyas and mentions the Sun, Manu, Sagara, Bhagiratha, Rama and in that line Betama, Prōla, Rudra and Mahādēva. The Mōṭupalli⁹ and 'Pakhal'¹⁰ inscriptions of the time of the same king confirm this list and add the names of some other kings of the solar race and those of Karikāla and Durjaya. However convincing these evidences might be, they are all subject to one serious criticism. This Solar ancestry is peculiar to the inscriptions of Gaṇapati alone. Neither the inscriptions of his

5 ఆమూలాత్ఫలిత పరిసర్తి లలికాపత్య స్వయంభూపర్యభ
రాజ్యక్షత్రియదూళి మండనమతేస్తాతస్యనామగ్రహః।

Prataparudriyam

6 కాకత్యపరక క్షేత్రపయా మాశ్వాండవల్లికాకాచితః।
పుత్రమనూత తదేతత్కులమనఘః కాకతీయసంజ్ఞంస్యాత్॥

Kaluvacheru grant of Queen Anitalli

7 The Mandapati and Uppalapati families have this legend as their family origin and reject the మాశ్వాండ as an etable.

8 Ind. Ant. XXI p. 197

9 Ep. Ind. XII, p. 188

10 Hyd. Arch. Series No. 4, 1919. See also Ekasilanagara vrittantam.

predecessors nor those of his successors mention a similar lineage. There is no reason to show why Gaṇapati alone should be particular about this point and why the others should neglect it. Further, there is an inconsistency even in the inscriptions of Gaṇapatidēva himself. It is only the inscriptions that were made after his conquest of the Chola chiefs of the coast, that bear this solar pedigree and not others. Thus, this double inconsistency disproves the truth of this argument.

In direct contrast to the above theory, the Kakatiyas are represented to be kings of the lunar race and this view is based upon tradition and mythology. Traditional accounts recorded in the Local Records 11 and literature mostly based upon them agree in saying that the Kakatiyas were the descendants of Mādhavavarman of the lunar race. Again some of the communal histories also state that a certain 'Karna Rāja was born in lunar race and that of his family came the Kakatiya king Prataparudra¹². Further, the Dantāvaram inscription of Raja Dīpādēva connects the Kakatiyas with the lunar race of kings.¹³ But all these evidences are open to criticism. It must be noted, at the outset, that the traditional part of the evidence comes into conflict with the more reliable epigraphical evidence. Secondly, it has the serious drawback of containing subsequent reconstruction of earlier times and hence is bound to have many interpolations and inventions. The literature mentioned is open to the same criticism, being based upon tradition mostly. The story of Madhavavarman has not yet been established by reliable evidence of any sort. The communal histories are equally liable to exaggeration. The argument based upon the Dantesvaram inscription may be dismissed thus. Gaṇapatidēva had no male issue. He had two daughters, the elder one he treated as his son and even called her Rudradēva. By dint of this fiction, she is made to belong to her father's family and inherit his pedigree, though she was married to a chieftain of another race. Apparently she also had no issue and in her turn, adopted her grandson Prataparudra as her son. Thus, Prataparudra who in the ordinary course should have belonged to his father's race, now continued in the Kakatiya line with the Kakatiya pedigree. His father was a chief of the lunar race. Hence Annamadēva, brother of Prātāparudra, remained in his father's family, i.e. the lunar race. The fact of Prataparudra's adoption in no way effaces the lineage of his father and brother,

11 Somadevarajiyam.

12 Durvasa deviyam

13 Inscriptions from the Bastar state and Ep. Ind. IX. p. 163.

nor does the lunar lineage of Annamadeva and his father effect Pratāparudra after his adoption. Hence, the claim of the Dantēsvaram inscription which assigns the Kākatiyas to the lunar race on the basis of the relation between Annamadēva and Pratāparudra, does not hold good. Further, Annamadeva and his successor Raja Dikpāladeva could style themselves as Kākatiyas only in the remotest sense of the term.¹⁴

At this juncture, it is important to note another view which seems to embody all the above discussion and to decide the whole contention in an emphatic manner. Vidyānātha, in this *Prataparudriyam* clearly states in his book that the Kākatiyas belonged neither to the solar nor the lunar races.¹⁵ It is even said that they vanquished members of the above two races.¹⁶ In writing the *Prataparudriyam* the poet's professed intention was the glorification of his patron and his family. If there was the slightest claim on the part of his patron, to *kshatriya* descent or to either of the two leading races, Vidyānātha would have mentioned it in his book. On the other hand, he seems to scrupulously avoid assigning the Kākatiyas definitely to any particular caste or race and only calls them as belonging to an “అత్యర్కేందుకుల” “*atyarkē-ndukula*”

If, then, the Kākatiyas were not *kshatriyas* and did not belong either to the solar or the lunar races, who else were they? The association of their family with the names of Karikāla and Durjaya gives us some clue. Those inscriptions of Gaṇapati which gave a Solar origin to the Kākatiyas also mention that they were of the race of Durjaya.¹⁸ There are many other local families who call themselves in the like manner. They were, it is clearly stated, rulers of the fourth caste. The Koṇḍapaḍumati chief, Buddhārāja, and the *Mahamandalesvara* Nambaya were Durjayas.¹⁸

14 The commentator of the *Prataparudriya* defines the term Kakatiya thus:—

కాకతీర్నామదుర్గాశక్తిః పరకలానగరేశ్వరాణాంకులదేవతా సాశక్తిర్భజనీయా స్త్రీతి కాకతీయః

It is only in this sense i.e. as a devotee of the goddess Kakati, that Annamadeva can be called a kakatiya.

15 అత్యర్కేందుకుల ప్రశస్తిమస సద్యం కాకతీయాన్వయం

తస్మిన్సంప్రతివీరయద్రవపుసా బాగర్తి లక్ష్మీపతిః॥ *Prataparudriyam.*

16 “సోమార్కాభిజనంత మద్య జయతి శ్రీ కాకతీయాన్వయః”

“స్వామి స్నేహిసోమార్క వంశ్యా నరపతయః మహాతీర్థా మర్హంతి తీవస్వేషు స్వేషుప
దేషు స్థాపనీయాః ప్రస్థాపనీయాశ్చ”

17 The Motupalli and Pakhal inccriptions.

18 Ep. Ind. VI. p. 268 and 269

further epigraphic evidence to show that there was a son of Prataparudra, by name Juttaya lenka Gonka Reddi, who was ruling his father's dominions as viceroy. Thus, it would not be far wrong to conclude with the celebrated Historian of the Andhras,²⁴ that the Kakatiyas were originally *Reddis* and later became *Kammas*, having contracted matrimonial relations with the chieftains of that sect. It is essential, however, to note that almost till the close of Prataparudras II's reign there were no serious and prohibitive distinctions among the various sub-divisions of the fourth caste. Towards the close of the reign inter-communal and inter-sectarian troubles arose²⁵ and there were largely responsible for the fall of the Kakatiyas.

So much for the origin of the Kakatiyas. It is said above that the Kakatiya rulers of Warangal had many relatives among the chieftains of Kammanadu. What is more interesting about them is that they had matrimonial relations even with the higher castes, the Brahmins. Induluri Annayamantri a famous minister and renowned general under Rudramba and Prataparudra II. married Ruyyamma the second daughter of the Kakatiya empress, Rudramadevi (Rudradeva).

The discovery of the Prabandha "*Sivayogasara*" has brought to light many remarkable points and revealed startling information with regard to the Kakatiyas and their contemporaries. In the first place, we are told that the *Induluri* family were hereditary ministers at the court of Warangal for many generations and wielded much influence.²⁶ Secondly, it is clear that the *Kolani* family was identical with the *Induluri* family. The book startles us when it says that Induluri Anna was not really a son of Peda Gannayya and a cousin of Rudra known by the surname of Kolani, as is till now current, but owed his origin to Sivadevayya.²⁷

24 History of the Andhras (Telugu) Vol. II. P. 148

25 Ekasilanagara vrittantam (Telugu)

26 The Kakatiya rulers and their respective ministers from the Induluri family as given in the Sivayogasara were as follows—

Prola—Nanagaurya

Prataparudra I } Peda Mallana
 } Pina Mallana

Ganapati—Somana Mantri

Rudramba } Manma Ganapati Raju
 } Induluri Anna
 } Kolani Rudra

Prataparudra II } Induluri Anna
 } Kolani Rudra

27 Vide Subhashi. Oct. 1927 Pp 26, 27

There is another point of great interest brought to light by the *Sivayogasara*. The Kakatiya king Ganapati had no male issue but only daughters. One of them, Rudramba was treated as a son. Evidently she also had no issue and hence adopted her grandson Prataparudra, who was the son of Mummadamma her first daughter. Who the father of this grandson of hers was, is not definitely known. Now, the *Sivayogasara* throws much new light on this point. In the first place it casts a doubt as to the relation between Rudramba and her first daughter, Mummadamba. Mummadamma is said to have been treated by the Queen as her own daughter.²⁸ In fact, they were not mother and daughter. There is a tradition which states the same thing. It is said that a girl called Mummadamma was brought to Warangal as bride to Rudradeva Maharaja alias Rudramba, that on the discovery of the latter's sex, the girl felt sorry and as a recompense was married to an illustrious person. Prataparudra²⁹ is said to have been the fruit of that union. The *Sivayogasara* confirms the statement that Mummadamma was not the natural daughter of Rudramba. Secondly the book also confirms what Vidyanatha says about the parentage of Prataparudra³⁰. Mahadeva and Mummadamma are said to be his father and mother. The celebrated Historian of the Andhras, Mr. Chilukuri Virabhadra Rao, identifies this Mahadeva with the Mahadeva Chakravarti of Niravadyapura or Nidadavolu, who ruled between S. S. 1218—1222.

One more point may be noted before I conclude. The opinion at present current, is that Prataparudra succeeded to the Kakatiya throne on account of his adoption by his grandmother. The exact date of his accession and of the death of Rudramba are not yet known. They are only tentatively fixed by the inscriptions till now discovered. Thus, there seems to be a mystery about this. The *Sivayogasara* again comes to our rescue and reveals new facts. The theory of Prataparudra's peaceful succession to the throne seems to be untenable. It is said that he "assumed the burden of the kingdom by

28 చ|| అనుమిత రుద్రహంబికకు సాత్మజనా పొగడొందు ముమ్మడమ్మకు
Sivayogasaramu.

29 History of the Andhras (Telugu) Vol. II. P. 323

30 మురారే ర్యఃప్రార్థ్యం జలనిధిమతాయా మదభివ
స్మహదేవాజ్ఞాత స్సప్తనందనాభ్యద్దు హితేరి
పపున్మన్మహాయం జయతి జగతీభాగ్యవిభవైః
భృతపతీరుద్ర స్వయమితి మనీష మృద్ధుకాలి

himself and bore it along.³¹ This denotes something unusual. In the light of this, the traditional accounts that voice the same version seem to deserve some credit. It is said that Prasadaditya Nayadu a general of the Kakatiya Queen, killed her for her having foiled Mummadamma and proclaimed Prataparudra as the ruler. It is not, however, safe to rely entirely upon this, in the absence of any reliable evidence in support of it.

Thus the Kakatiya period seems to be of very great importance and interest. The fact that it had till now been neglected and that startling changes are being brought to light, shows how much more is yet to be done with regard to this important dynasty of the Deccan. The religious and social revolutions that took place at this time, the great building activity and the economic organisation of those centuries are only some of the many points of interest connected with the Kakatiyas. Each of them deserves special and detailed treatment and consideration.

31 న॥ అకుశతరుద్రమాంబకు నాత్మజనాబోగడొందు మున్నుడ
య్యకు మహదేవరాజునకు నాత్మజుడైన ప్రతాపగుమ్మరి చాల్చే
సకలమహీభరంబును వెసం దమయంతవహించి చాల్చే నా
యకు మహిమంబులందొరికె యన్నయదేవుడు రుద్రదేవుడు॥

THE JEALOUS STEP-MOTHER.

(A FOLK TALE OF CHHATTISGARH.)

L. P. PANDEYA SARMA.

In the evening, when the sun has long gone down and darkness enveloped the whole world the mistress of the house calls her playing children to their supper. No sooner they hear her voice, then they all run with the fulness of joy crying aloud "Mama, Mama, one good tale! Only one! if not more." It is here that mothers find the secret of sweetening the supper and imparting moral instructions to their beloved sons and daughters and plant the seed of true judgment, and love of duty and self-sacrifice in their innocent minds. It is here that they learn to love their religion and country and to shun all that destroys manliness and robs men of their true character. Here is a story of this kind.

One upon a time there lived a king who was very fond of his wife. One day the queen said to him, "My lord! I have one boon to ask. If your Highness is pleased to grant me the boon, I will ask, otherwise not." To this the king replied "My love, all my property, my kingdom, these mansions and above all, this body too are yours. Be pleased to ask any boon you like." The queen said, "If your beloved queen Sāvitrī, who is now standing before you dies, let not your Highness marry a second wife as your Highness already has three beautiful sons."

The king very gladly granted the boon and enquired what made her ask such a boon. The queen then replied "Close to our palace there is a nest of a pair of beautiful sparrows, which had given birth to a pair of beautiful young ones. I used to go daily to the upper part of the palace and see them all gathered chatting away happily. One day the female sparrow was unfortunately, to the greatest sorrow, of her young ones, killed by a wicked man. The male-sparrow then was sorry to lose his wife. He however took enough care of his little ones. After some days, the male sparrow took another mate. This new comer was, now, in charge of the young sparrows. All of a sudden two days after the arrival of the new wife of the sparrow, I found the birdies dead. Then I sent my maid-servant to fetch them. Accordingly they were brought to me. My lord! what do you think! Did they

die a natural death? No, no. It was the fruit of the marriage of a second-wife. I saw two little thorny fruits stuck to their gullets which their jealous step-mother had given them to eat. It is because of this, my Lord! I have asked such a boon." On hearing this the king became very glad and praised his wife much.

Days went by and at one time, Queen Savitri fell sick and died a premature death. Great sorrow prevailed in the royal family and in the kingdom. But in course of time, this sorrow was lessened and the prime minister and other high officials and merchants of the capital city approached the king and requested him earnestly thus. "O lord! your royal palace is now nothing but a wilderness. May it sound well in your Highness' ear to marry a second wife, whose presence shall make the royal palace as well as us all, possessed of a good mistress." The king had in the meantime forgotten the boon which he had given to his deceased wife. His mind had changed and accordingly made up his mind to marry a second wife. Every preparation was ordered and on the day fixed, the wedding procession started with great pomp to the bride's house, with men and women dressed in gay colours and rich garments and with the sweet music of Sankha. The air was filled with noises of trumpets, drums etc. Dancers, jugglers, wrestlers, and swordsmen were performing their feats cleverly and merrily. The city was illuminated and the people were delighted to see fire-works. The family priests of the royal house were chanting the holy Vedic hymns, and bards were pleasing the king by praising him highly.

The three sons of the king maintained perfect order. In a short time the procession reached the bride's place. There, to their great surprise they found another king, who had come with a great army to marry the same bride whom Ram Singh wanted to marry. When Ram Singh saw this he was incensed with rage and ordered his sons to attack that king. A great battle was fought. Ram Singh won the day and his enemy fled. Thereafter the marriage took place and the procession with the new queen returned gloriously to the capital.

All went on well for some time and the king and the queen lived happily. But the new queen was jealous of the three princes, whom she thought would be the chief causes of troubles to her children. She said to herself, "On the death of my husband the throne will be seized by the eldest prince, and he, I am sure will appoint his younger brother as prime minister and his youngest brother as commander-in-chief of his army. My sons and daughters will be counted as nobody and they shall have to be at the entire

mercy of these three brothers for their livelihood. They will be ordered to do menial work and treated contemptuously by the royal family. Fie on me, if I live to see my sons so degraded. I will work anyhow the ruin of the three princes and have them murdered before my husband's death." Thus she thought and waited impatiently for a chance for the fulfilment of her bloody intention.

The king whom Ram Singh had defeated and driven out, was meditating upon a revenge and collecting armies to invade Ram Singh's kingdom. When this news reached Ram Singh's ears he became very much troubled and knew not what to do. His sons then told him not to be afraid of that and that they decided to take care of the capital city by night. They, then, resolved to guard the city each for every four hours. The eldest prince guarded the city first for four hours and then did the younger prince and so on. It was now the turn of the youngest prince. While guarding the city he found a fox yelping near the gate of the king's palace.

The coming of a fox into any town or city is a very unlucky sign for it is feared that misfortunes would befall the town or city and all therein. The prince approached the fox and drew his sword to kill it. But the fox humbly said to the prince, in human voice. "Dear prince! Don't consider that I am yelping out of any evil intention but I am expressing my sorrow for the ill-fate of our beloved king, in whose kingdom we live happily and peacefully. The king will be bitten by a venomous snake today at 4 A.M. If you can save your father, then hurry up to his sleeping chamber and do what you can for him." Hearing this the prince was horror-struck and he directly went to his father's sleeping room, where the king and his step-mother had fallen into heavy slumber. The night was on the wane, so the candle was giving but a feeble light. The prince saw a large snake coming down from the ceiling of the room. He instantly cut it into many parts. While cutting it a drop of blood fell on the breast of his step-mother, the new queen. Then he was at his wits end as to how the poisonous drop of blood should be taken out. He said to himself, "If I take it out with my hand it is a sin, also if by foot, it is a sin. Great God! It is going to be morning. Help me" In the meantime an idea struck his mind and he wrapped his handkerchief manyfold round his tongue and licked up the drop of blood. In the course of doing this his step-mother awoke and saw that her youngest step-son was standing before her. Seeing that his step-mother awoke the prince began to tremble with fear, and at once ran away from the king's sleeping room.

The jealous queen who was waiting for an opportunity to ruin the prince said to the king "My lord! What! Are you asleep! Whose wife am I? Yours or your son's? My lord! Your youngest son was just now here and was on the point of touching my breast. Is he then your son? Fie upon you, if you call such a vicious brute your son! Lord! If that wicked prince's head be not cut off early in the morning I shall commit suicide."

On hearing this the king burnt with rage but his wife would not be satisfied until she had taken a promise from the king that he would send the head of his wicked son before sunrise. The king soon went to the court and ordered his minister to cut off his youngest son's head before it was sunrise. The minister was under-struck to hear the king's order. But a king's order must be obeyed. He, accordingly went to arrest the youngest prince who had taken shelter in the house of his eldest brother. When the eldest prince saw that the king had ordered the minister to behead his youngest brother he earnestly requested the minister to delay the bloody act for half an hour only, and he hurried to his father. His father seeing him come, asked why he had come. To this the prince replied, "It is the duty of a king to find out before punishing a man, whether he is really guilty or not. Otherwise it would be like the story of a prostitute and her parrot."

"What do you mean by this?" asked the king. The prince, then began thus. "Once upon a time there lived a prostitute in a certain city. She had a beautiful parrot which she loved more than her life. On one occasion the parrot expressed his desire to perform *Baruni-Snana*, in the Ganges and asked leave of the prostitute for it. After a great deal of yea and nay the prostitute reluctantly yielded. Then the parrot requested her to bind a nut to his wing so that he may offer the nut to mother Ganga. This done, the parrot set out upon his journey and reached Prayag at night fall. Early at 4 A. M. he got up and went to the Samgam the sacred place where the Ganges the Jamuna and the Sarsawati meet and after performing the bath offered the nut to mother Ganga. Mother Ganga was so pleased at the parrot's doing that she in return gave him one Amrita fruit and blessed him much. The faithful bird did not think it proper to eat up the fruit but he said to himself "I must give this fruit to my mother the prostitute who always takes care of me and with whom I live happily and well." So thinking he flew away and reached home in the evening. He gave the fruit to his mother and related all about it. The prostitute was glad beyond measure and thanked the parrot very much. They then took their supper and went to beds. At night the prostitute thought that it would not be better if she alone

ate the fruit and so planted it. And in course of time it grew to be a tree and bore fruit. One night a ripe fruit fell from the tree which was unfortunately licked by a poisonous snake and had become mortal. In the morning the prostitute saw the fruit and brought it home with great delight. She cut it with a knife and when she was on the point of eating it, a dog thin and sickly looking, happened to come before her. She threw a bit to the dog. The dog ate it and instantly fell down senseless on the ground and died. The prostitute got very angry and thought that the faithless parrot had wanted to kill her by giving her a poisonous fruit to eat. Thus in a fit of anger she got hold of it and threw it into the fire that was blazing hard by in a hearth. The poor parrot was thus cruelly killed and reduced to ashes. The prostitute then made it known in the city that the newly planted tree in her garden was a *Kal* tree and that none should eat its fruit.

In the same city there lived a blacksmith who had two wives, one a concubine and another married. He used to love his concubine very much but he hated and punished severely the other. His married wife was thus compelled to lead a very wretched life; she was ordered to do menial work, to clean the cow dung and to make it into cakes. She was not given sufficient food and clothing and was greatly rebuked. On the very night when our parrot was killed, she was beaten severely by her husband and was driven out of the house. She then being hopeless of her life made up her mind to eat the *Kal* fruit and free herself from all trouble. So she went secretly to the prostitute's house and after plucking one fruit ate it there, and came out of her house expecting that her death was at hand. The long night rolled on but she perceived new changes in her, quite contrary to what she had thought of. When it was morning the people of the city were wonderstruck to see the great change in her. She had become a young woman of peerless beauty. On being asked she said "I ate at night the *Kal* fruit. Instead of proving fatal it has brought such a wonderful change in me." The people then began to say that the prostitute's *Kal* tree is the *Amrita* tree and the prostitute unknowingly killed her greatest benefactor the parrot. When the prostitute heard this she began to cry.

In the meantime, the second prince appeared before the king and said, "It is the duty of a king to find out before punishing a man whether he is really guilty or not. Otherwise it would be like the story of a King and his hawk,"

"What do you mean by this?" asked Ram Singh The second prince then began. "In time immemorial none can say when, there lived a king who had a beautiful hawk. He was very fond of going a hunting and took great interest in it. One day he went out to hunt with his courtiers and his favourite hawk to a dense forest. As it was a very sultry day the king felt very thirsty and asked his courtiers to bring water to quench his thirst. His courtiers ran here and there in search of water but could not get it anywhere. The king's favourite hawk seeing his master in great distress flew up into the sky to see whether there was any tank or pool close by but saw neither a tank, nor a rill nor any pool of water. One of the king's courtiers who was looking out for water saw some drops of water falling from a tree. He took them for rain water, made a glass of leaves and began to catch the falling drops. It was not water but the fangs of a large snake. When the glass of leaves was filled with the liquid, he brought it to the king. The king was dying with thirst. When he saw the supposed water he ran towards the man who was bringing it. He hastily took the glass from him and was on the point of drinking it, when the hawk fell on the glass and the liquid flowed down. The king in a rage caught hold of it and killed it. Afterwards he himself went with the man to the spot, whence his courtier had brought the glass filled with water and there saw drops of water falling from the top of a tree. He then more closely saw what it was and was horrified to find a poisonous snake seated on the top of that tree. He then, bitterly lamented the death of his dear hawk which saved his life.

The king then asked both his sons what they wanted. The two princes requested their father that before cutting off the head of the youngest prince he (the king) should tell them the cause for so severe a punishment. Hearing this the king sent for the prince. In no time the third prince with the minister appeared before the king and said, "Having eyes he is blind, having ears he is deaf, having wisdom he is devoid of wisdom, who ever without deliberation and decision as to what the cause of an effect is, does something rashly without looking to its consequence, such a man repents afterwards and suffers the same fate as that of a Mahomedan and his dog." The king having heard thus blushed and said, "What do you mean by this?" The prince then began. "Long long ago there lived a Mahomedan merchant, who had a very faithful dog. Once when he was on his pilgrimage he fell short of money. As he was in pressing need of money to meet his demands he went to a Hindu merchant and borrowed 1000 rupees from him on

condition of paying the money back within three months and left his dog as a security with the Hindu merchant. The Mahomedan took the money and went his way while the Hindu kept the dog with him. Days went by and one night some thieves entered the Hindu merchant's house and stole away many articles, jewels, ornaments, rich clothes and vessels. The thieves hid many of the stolen properties in the middle of a tank so that none could know the fact. Though the merchant and the members of his family did not know at all what had happened at night yet the faithful dog had watched the movements of the thieves and what they had done. In the morning when the members of the merchant's family woke up they saw that the thieves had totally ruined them by stealing all their holdings. The merchant bitterly lamented this strange irony of fate and reported the matter to the police. The police officers tried their best to find out who the thieves were but all their attempts ended in smoke. At last they marked the dog often going and coming to and from the tank barking in such a way as to say that he knew some thing about the thieves. Two men were asked to follow the dog who led them to the tank where the thieves had hidden the stolen properties. The dog ran into the tank, swam to its middle and returned. This he did many times. Some men who watched it then understood what the dog meant and consequently all the stolen things were one by one taken out and were given to their owner. The merchant's joy knew no bounds when he got back his lost wealth and jewels. He became very much pleased with the dog, that did a great service to him. He wrote a letter to the Mahomedan gentleman that in recognition of the valuable services of his dog he gave gratis the money lent. He bound that letter to the dog's neck and let it go. The dog who was very wise and sagacious made his way home. He scarcely travelled ten miles from the city when he saw his master coming and ran towards him with great glee. The Mahomedan was returning to pay his creditor. He espied the dog from a distance and said to himself, "Ah! the faithless creature, whom I kept as security did not act according to my direction. To-day is the appointed day to repay the money. If he had but stayed for one day more I would have been true to my word. But now the Hindu merchant would call me a liar. Fie upon me, if I keep this wretched dog". When the dog approached near he drew his sword and in a fit of anger cut him into two. Afterwards he saw a piece of paper bound to his neck wherein he read every thing and then began to repent.

Hearing this, Ram Sing blushed into a struggling feeling of shame and anger and asked what the prince meant by that. The

youngest prince then said, "Late at night when I went on my patrol, I found a fox yelping near the royal gate. Thinking it a bad omen, I went out to kill it. But then the fox requested me and said, "Dear prince, I am expressing my sorrow for the ill-luck of our beloved king, your father; who will be bitten by a snake and will die before the dawn of day." This startled me and I did not know what to do. Then I made up my mind to save you even at the cost of my life. This and this alone took me to your sleeping chamber where I found a large cobra creeping by your couch. I then cut it into many parts. While doing so a drop of blood fell on the bosom of my mother. I was then very sorry for this, as I thought, the poisonous drop might prove fatal to my mother. I was at a loss what to do. I wrapped my handkerchief manyfold round my tongue and began to lick the drop of blood. While licking, my mother woke up and I ran away hurriedly in great fear. This is all what I have done. Now if your highness wants to behead me, I am ready to bear patiently the punishment, for it is glorious to die for the good of others."

The king was struck with wonder when he heard this. He then ordered his minister to kill the jealous new queen who had intentionally desired to ruin the third prince. And then he assembled a great *darbar* in his palace. There the king sat on the throne and proclaimed that none of his subjects, having any issue should marry a second wife, and if any one violated that rule his properties would be confiscated to the state and he would be condemned and punished as a state prisoner. Thus bringing the story to an end the mother would say. "My darlings! hear, hear, the proclamation of the king and see the result of marrying a second wife. Yesterday, you heard the story of Raja Dasaratha and his three queens and the result of marrying three wives. I do not think that any of you, when you grow to be men, would like to marry more than one wife." "No, mother, no," cried the children, "We will never like to do so to put our little sons in danger." And with their supper ends the story and the children hasten to their beds repeating with their mother the following:—

"Here is my supper story's end
Cut the ears of the rat, my friend,"*

Môr Kadiri antari

Mâsa Kân Kutari

ANALYSIS OF THE AGNI PURANA.

SASHI BHUSHAN CHAUDHURI, M. A.

The *Agni* or *Āgnêya Purana* describing the occurrences of the *Isana kalpa*, does not furnish any list of teachers like the *Vayu Kurma* or *Vishnu* through whom the Puranas are usually said to have been handed down. But a general idea regarding the mythical transmission of the Purana can be formed from the 1st Chapter of the book, where it is said that *Brahma* delivered the Purana to the gods including *Vishnu* who transmitted it to *Agni*, the deity of fire. *Agni* in his turn communicated the Purana to the *Muni Vasishṭha*, for the purpose of instructing him in the twofold knowledge of *Brahma*. By *Vasishṭha* the Purana was handed down to *Vyāsa*, who as we find in almost all other Puranas taught it to his disciple the *Suta Lōmaharshana*. It is this *Suta* who in his capacity as a story teller is represented as repeating the Purana to the *rihsis* at *Naimisaranya*. But it is a curious feature of the Purana that the *Suta* just after introducing the Purana before the sages, disappears from the scene, and throughout the whole of the book he hardly appears as reproducing the original conversations. The Purana is managed by the mythical *rihsis* and gods in the form of conversations and speeches from the beginning to the end, a pious fraud, no doubt to give a sacred and antique colouring to the comparatively modern ingredients of this modern Purana.

The Purana begins with the Fish incarnation of *Vishnu* and gradually narrates all his incarnations including *Kṛshṇa*, *Buddha*, and *Kalki* at great length covering some fifteen chapters, in which it, avowedly follows the *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata* and *Harivamsa*. From chapter 17 to 20 it gives in almost unsystematic way as compared with the *Vayu*, *Vishnu*, *Kurma* and *Matsya* a short account of the creation of the world namely *Sarga* and *Pratisarga*; but even in that, *Sarga* or the description of elementary creation has been very brief. Then follows many chapters (21 to 106) obviously written in a spirit of establishing a code of religious rituals and ceremonies, and so appropriated to instructions for the performance of religious ceremonies and many other miscellaneous sort of religious affairs; many of which belong to the *Tantrika* ritual, and some to the mystical forms of *Saiva* worship; such as instructions for

the construction of images like Durgā, Kālī, Chāṇḍī, Kātyānī, Liṅga, Sālagrām and Viṣṇu and Śiva etc; how they are to be constructed, consecrated and worshipped. How a *mandap* or temple or shrine is to be built and how it is to be consecrated or purified before establishing the deity, and what rules are to be observed in connection with the worship of the deity; in which of course no stone was left unturned by the Brahmans to make them pay and revere. In other words these chapters betray the full traces of Symbolism, Fetishism, and Saivism including *Linga* and *Sakta* or *Tantrik* cult being definitely established on the soil of Indian society. The next two chapters (107 & 108) pave the way for introducing to us places of pilgrimage or *Tirthas*, and in the next chapters (108 to 117) we find a long list of *Tirthas* in which Kāśī, Prayāg and Gaya in particular occupy the highest place; but of course the list is not very long and tedious like that of *Matsya* or *Kurma*. Chapters 118 & 119 describe the geography of the world but the description has been condensed and shortened unlike the other puranas. Chapter (120) on cosmography then occurs. Then follow many chapters (121 to 142) in which is described the subject of Astronomy, Astrology and Palmistry etc. The inauspicious days in the year were calculated and people were advised not to perform any auspicious ceremony such as marriage etc. on those days; nor to perform any religious ceremony, to begin any new enterprise; to commence a journey, and it was assuredly proclaimed that the violation of these astronomical rules will bring new danger and annihilation. In fact these astrologers of ancient India entirely handicapped the life of the individual and free thinking and free action seemed almost an impossibility. Another striking feature in these chapters, which is perhaps peculiar to this Purana alone is a long list of mysterious mono-syllabic *Tantrik Mantras* which were declared as extremely effective in compelling one's own unruly wife to submit (*Strivasikarana*) in achieving one's own desire, and in managing to kill one's own enemy etc. and other sorts of charms, amulets, spells and magic *mantras* were laid down with the object of achieving those nefarious affairs. All these *Tantrik Mantras* applicable for other objects too, such as curing of snake-bites, recovery of hopeless cases suffering from diseases (Ch. 295 to 297) and specially for the submission of unruly wives, was perhaps the work of an uneducated *Tantrik* priest, who took advantage of the credulity and superstition of the multitude and so converted the Purana into a vehicle for preaching the *Tantrik* cult to the people at large. And in the next chapters (143 to 148) we find many *Tantrik Mantras* and directions for the worship of some *Tantrik* goddesses such as Kubja, Tvarita and Aṣṭaśṭaka etc. Chapter 150 deals with the *manvantaras* in a brief way, while *kalpas* and other

speculation of the Hindus regarding the ages of the world, which are to be found in almost all the other Puranas have entirely been omitted. Then in chapters 151 to 174 our Purana deals with the features of the *Smarta dharma* i.e. on the four *asramas* and caste; on *Nitya* and *Naimittika karma*; on *Sraddhas* and *Prayas-chittas* and *Graha pujas* etc. But the account is not so graphic and thorough like the *Kurma Purana*, which is half a purana and half a social manual. Next (175 to 213) we have a fairly long list of *Vratas*, fasting and other religious observances and features of Neo-Hindusm, which were declared necessary for every pious Hindu to perform and observe wishing eternal bliss in Heaven. These chapters combined with the *Tirtha* chapters said above really form a sort of religious code of Neo-Brahmanism. The next chapters deal with *Frāṇāyām* and *Gāyatrī* etc., while chapter 217 dealing with *Linga* cult seems to have been placed here abruptly. Then follow some chapters which certainly originated in an atortive effort of the Brahmanical compiler to impart an encyclopaedic character to the *Purana*, supplying it with all the informations and details of daily life: both public and domestic and alongside with these the Brahmans spared no loophole to exhibit in all the truthfulness to Brahmanical arrogance, the supremacy of their class as a whole who are to be worshipped, revered and donated. Chapters 218 to 228 deal with *Rajadharma* and the four-fold policy of *Sama*, *Dana*, *Vedha*, (*Bheda*) *Danda* and other disquisition on politics and art of war. In chapters 229 to 233 we have a long list of omens and portents and declaration of good and evil signs; the evil signs forecasting danger to be averted and can of course be averted by conforming to Brahmanical ceremonies such as *Graha santi puja* etc. in which, gifts to Brahmans was an inseparable factor. The next chapters 234 to 242 contain excellent materials to form an idea of Hindu monarchy and Hindu military system both in war and in peace and can be profitably utilised for that purpose, when combined with chapters (245 to 252) with the exception of chapters 246 to 248 which deal with signs of flowers and gems, which deal with the art constructing of a *Dhanus* and training it and other implements of such nature. The next chapters (253 to 271) contain various matters such as directions (*vidhis*) for the performance of holy ablutions (*snanas*). In one chapter (271) we have an account of the distribution and arrangement of the Vedas, which is little else than an abridgement of the *Vishnu*. But the next important topic in these chapters is the discourse on judicature in which the text of *Yājñavalkya* occur here almost word for word. Hindu law in these chapters has been graphically described in all its divisions and branches, such as Law of crimes and offences; Law of evidence and Law of Contract and Torts and various other points such as

the duty of the king with regard to the *asramas* and Law of offences against domestic and family morality. All these chapters on Law also give valuable information about the position of women in Hindu society. The next chapter (272) deals with gifts in which we have an *Agni* version of the enumeration of the puranas, which is precisely the same and in the same situation as the similar subject in the *Matsyapurana*. The genealogical chapter (273 to 278) then occurs [which is peculiar in this Purana in this respect that it altogether omits the narration of future kings i.e. the prophetic portion of a purana, and is characterised by almost an entire absence of all the Ksatriya and Brahmanical fables and stories which are found interpolated in the narration of genealogy in other puranas. But this in no way can be interpreted as a genuine mark of the ancient character of the Purana but to be explained rather to the fact that this was avowedly deicated and open to every sort of encyclopaediac information (Ag. 1-14-17) and so the interpolated tales which are to be found in the genealogical portion of the other puranas have been neglected here; for the sake of making the book more encyclopaediac; and this receives further support from the fact that the Purana has entirely ignored the third point of the definition of a *purana* namely the *Vamsa* or the narration of Rshi families which was certainly deemed unnecessary by the compilers in the accepted criterion of making the purana a popular information register, satisfying popular intellectual curiosity. This is more clear in the next chapters (279 to 300) where regular medical code for both men, women and animals has been set up in which Veterinary deceases peculiar to men and women have been analysed and diagnosed, and treatments according to the *Ayurveda* have been prescribed - all of which were perhaps compiled avowedly but injudiciously from the *Susruta*. Sometimes the diseases have also been sought to be remedied by the recitation of the *Tantrik mantras*. Chapter 302 is essentially a compilation of such which were directed to be recited to gain a son, to control one's wife and to avoid all troubles relating to pregnancy etc; while the next chapters (303-327) give us a long list of *Tantrik pujas* and *mantras* of mystic mono-syllables to be applied for the propose of *Vasikarana*. Indeed the variety and frequency of these *Tantrik mantras* ranging throughout the Purana makes it impossible for us to avoid the conclusion that the Purana has been unblushingly tampered with for preaching the *Tantrik* cult. The next chapters (328 to 367) are quite in conformity with the encyclopaediac character of the 'book, where we find a contribution perhaps by one indologist on Rhetoric, Prosody and Grammar, on Kavya, Drama and Dancing and on other branches of Sanskrit poetics; according to Dandin the treatise on *Alamkara*, Chapters 368 and 369 deal with the *pralayas*

while chapter 370 deals on Anatomy and 371 on Death and Transmigration of the soul. The next chapters (372 to 376) deal with the *Yoga* system. Then follows (377 to 380) speculation on the philosophy of *atman* and Non-dualism¹ which has been illustrated by the well known story of the king Bharata to be found in the other puranas. Chapter 381 contains a summary of *Bhagavadgita* in a semi-theistic and semi-pantheistic tone and chapter 382 on *Yamagita*, while the last chapter advocates in extravagant terms the efficacy of reading and writing the Purana.

The book is above all therefore not a purana, but an encyclopaedic work open to every sort of popular information, it has deliberately departed from the ideal definition of a purana. *Sarga* has been briefly alluded to, *Vamasa* has been entirely eliminated; *Vamasanucharita* has been only half sketched, while the *manvantaras* though described; its attending features, i.e. *Kalpas* and *yugas* have entirely escaped the notice of the Brahmanical compilers who were busy to make the book, not an ideal Purana but otherwise. And yet it has its justification for it, say (Ag. 1—19—17) that besides the five topics, the other branches of learning, i.e. *Apara Vidya* ought also to be acquired. Its contents are variously specified as sixteen thousand, fifteen thousand or fourteen thousand stanzas; so that there is no harmony even in this statement. It is in no sense therefore a unified work but the work of different specialists—a jumbled or quite loosely connected mass of contents designed and contemplated to make it on the one hand a religious manual by establishing the rites and practices of Neo-Hinduism involving *Linga*, *Sakta* and *Vaishnava* cult, on the other hand to make it a popular hand-book for every sort of information.

The Purana has been classified by *Padma* 1 into *Saiva* group. But it is a relieving feature of the Purana that it is absolutely untouched by any sectarian imposter and has none of the sectarian absurdities so common in other Puranas. Even stories which plainly advocate a particular deity without any spirit of competition are not to be found in this Purana². The two Gods are placed side by side along with their own cult. But of course if a purana is to be called either a *Vaishnava* or a *Saiva* purana, according as the doctrines of the one or the other cover the major portion of the book, then undoubtedly our *Agni Purana* is a *Saiva* purana. It is essentially a "Śivaite work". It deals with the cult of *Linga*

1 *Padma Uttara*: 263, 81 f.

2 Except the story in which Siva acknowledges a defeat by Vishnu (Ag. 12-91f) of course if the story at all gives the latitude of sectarian interpretation.

and the mystic cult of Durga (Ag. 217). The cult of Gaṇeśa (Ag. 71) and the *puja* of Kārtika also appear, while the variety and frequency of the *Tantrik Mantras* with which the Purana is replete and the frequent introduction of *Tantrik* gods and goddesses almost inevitably stamps a Śaiva complexion on the Purana. But no less conspicuous is the *Vaishnava* feature of the Purana. The Purana gives elaborate directions for the rituals of the *Vaishnava* cult, and for the construction of Vishṇu images with care and attention, while the extravagant blessings awaiting one who builds a Vishṇu temple as described in chapter 38 must have its due share in the work of importing to the Purana a *Vaishnava* tone. Incarnation stories of Vishṇu are narrated at great length, while sufficient number of *Vratas* and *Tirthas* are associated with that deity and *Vishṇuloka* where the devotees of Vishṇu might go after death has been mentioned in a bold way. Again in cosmogonical speculation it is told on more than one occasion that it is Vishṇu who creates, preserves and destroys and what is more striking is that in the pantheistic discourses of the Purana it is Vishṇu who is all god,³ while in the discourses on the Non-dualistic philosophy of the Purana it is Vishṇu who is *atman*, it is Vishṇu who is *Brahma* in whom all the world is manifest, who is manifested in the whole world (Ag. 380) specially. And the chapter on *Yamagita* betrays with starting clearness the ardent desire of the compiler to extol Vishṇu. Other allusions in the Purana also directly testify to the same point. Long *stotras* to Vishṇu frequently occur⁴ and also other incidental references such as directions for the *Vaishnava Mantras* to be recited wishing recovery⁵; *Dhyana* to be performed for Vishṇu⁶ etc., and the culmination for extolling Vishṇu is reached in (Ag. 120,5) where it is said that the *Vaishnavas* never go to hell. It appears to be thus that the Purana was originally a *Vaishnava* one, the traces of which have been left unpolluted by the Brahmanical compilers, perhaps because of their hasty attempt to divert and dedicate the Purana to other object than sectarian glorification and therefore along with the gradual incorporation of miscellaneous ingredients into the Purana, it has also engrafted and incorporated into itself *Saiva* and *Tantrik* treatises, which gradually accumulated and finally rendered the Purana a *Saiva* one; though at the same time the *Vaishnava* features were retained so far as it was practicable by giving room to the adulterated agglomeration of miscellaneous information, necessary for public life; the incorporation of which made the Brahmanical compilers entirely forgetful of sectarian glorification.

3 Ag. 120,17f. „ 174,22f. 4 Ag. 48, 31, 305, 269, 270. 5 Ag. 284. 6 Ag. 374.

To which age this ambitious cyclopædia or its separate parts belong is very difficult to say and it is certain that no particular and pointed date can be applied in the case of this Purana and neither it is scientific, for our Purana has received 'such continual interpolations at the hands of different persons in different times that most probably one particular and pointed date will not cover the wide range of years through which the Purana has received this present form. At best one can say that the Purana was compiled in such and such centuries. Let us make some suggestions which may throw some light on the investigation of the date of the final compilations of the Purana.

There can be no doubt that the Purana is modern, absolutely modern. It is of course a fact that it has retained some Kshatriya features of ancient days and some relic of Vedic Gods, but at the same time it can be shown that it has preserved not a single old legend of kings; and old genealogical verses (*anuvansa sloka*) and not a single of the song verses (*gathas*) that have been saved from the original bard poetry and incorporated into our Purana. These verses "which the Puranas often interpose are manifestly quotations from the old metrical versions" which are preserved in remnants and fragments in the Puranas; and it is an accepted truth that the older the Purana is the more frequent these verses occur; as the *Vayu* shows, which is perhaps the oldest of the Puranas, and at the same time contains the greatest number of these old metrical versions. Our Purana contains none. Moreover a purana which mentions the name of the *Tantras*⁷; quotes from *Hitopadesa*⁸ and boundlessly exaggerates the description of Heaven and Hell,⁹ combined with the almost unimpeachable evidence of the full traces of *Linga*, *Saiva* or *Sakta* or *Tantrik* cult being definitely established and the worship of Durga, Kâli, Chandi and Gaṇeśa being commonly practised cannot but escape from the only possible conclusion; that the Purana was jumbled up at a very late date, and if some clue can be investigated which proves the compilation of a particular portion of the Purana at a comparatively modern date, then probably we can apply that particular date even to the whole of the Purana without fear of contradiction. Let us now see whether any such clue is available.

A verse of the Purana is quoted by Ballabhacharya¹⁰ in his commentary on the *Vedanta Sūtras* (1. 1. 20) but that brings us down to a very modern date. Our Purana certainly existed at a

7 Ag. 39-1-9

8 Ag. 203,2

9 The more boundless the exaggeration is, the more modern the Purana is; this can be taken as a general rule.

10 Sacred Books of the Hindoos, Vol. XXII. p. 79.

much earlier period. Ballala Sena, the famous Sena king of Bengal quotes *Agni* on many occasions in his *Danasagara*, which shows that before his time the *Agni Purana* was a sort of definite composition. And if it is acknowledged that Ballala Sena flourished in the 12th century A. D. then it may reasonably be inferred that the *Purana* was current in that century. But this lower limit of the date of *Agni Purana* may be pushed further up. We know that Bhōja lived in the 2nd quarter of the 11th century A. D.¹¹ and was the author of *Sarasvati Kanthabharana*¹², a work on sanskrit poetics in which our *Purana* is authoritatively cited; e. g. Ag 341-18 f. occur verbatim in Bhōja's work (ii, 2). It shows therefore that the lower limit of the date of the *Agni Purana* may be placed in the 2nd quarter of the 11th century A. D. There are other evidences too. Dr. DE has been able to show¹³ that one Ānandavardhana who has been fixed by Bühler in the middle of the 9th century anonymously, quotes from *Agni* (338, 10-11) in his treatises on *Alankara* which is enough to fix the lower limit of the date of the *Alankara* portion of the *Agni Purana* and so presumably of the 'whole *Purana* the middle of the 9th century. Thus we get one terminus to its date. The upper terminus may also be fixed. Mm. H. P. Sastri after a careful study of the *Kavya*, *Nataka* and *Alankara* portion of the *Agni Purana* observes, "It shows a development of literary criticism which preceded the invention of "*Dhvani*" by Ānandavardhana, or the *Sutra-kara* he commented upon. The *Agni Purana* may therefore, be put down in the *Pre-dhvani* days, i.e., before the 9th century A. D."¹⁴ It is implied here that the *Purana* was current in the 8th century A. D., and this is further corroborated and supported by the researches of Dr. S. K. DE, who brings other evidences to show that the *Purana* has called verses from Bharata, Bhāmaha and Dandin. Thus the definition of *Kavya sara* in *Agni* (336,6) has been taken from Dandin (1,10)¹⁵, whose date may be fixed at the middle of the 8th A. D.¹⁶ It is reasonable therefore to conclude that the *Agni Purana* in its present form (with its treatises on poetics) was not in existence prior to the middle of the 8th century A. D. and at the same time was current as an authority on sanskrit poetics before the middle of the 9th century A. D. Hence we may say that our *Purana* was compiled in the period beginning from the middle of the 8th century A.D. and ending with the middle of the 9th century A.D. This may be regarded as an approximate date of the *Purana*.

11 Dr. S. K. DE. History of Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. I. p. 146-7

12 Ibid. p. 147. Vide also Dr. DE's in J. A. R. S. 1923.

13 Ibid. p. 103. 14 J. B. & O. R. S. Sept. 1928 p. 333.

15 DE; History of Sanskrit Poetics Vol. I p. 103.

16 Ibid. p. 62-63.

HISTORY OF RAJAHMUNDRY

BHAVARAJ V. KRISHNARAO, B. A., B. L.,

“There lies hidden, in the deep stream of the overflowing
Mighty Godavari, the glorious civilisation of the CHALUKYAS!”

From the ODE TO THE MOTHERLAND, by Rayaprolu Subba Rao

I ANTIQUITIES.

Rājahmundry or Rājamahēndri, Rajahmundrum or more properly called Rājamahēndravaram or Rājamahēndranagaram¹ is situated on the eastern bank of the river Gōdāvari, in latitude 17° N. and in longitude 81° 45' E., about forty miles from the sea. It is perhaps one of the few ancient capitals of the hindu kingdoms of the Dekhan that still survives the glorious past and maintains the reputation as an ancient seat of learning and culture. It richly combines in its history the ancient greatness and traditional culture of the Andhras with modern importance and shines as the leading city in Āndhradēśa. It must, however, be admitted that it is in a decadant state of glory which commenced probably nine centuries ago after the death of one of its noblest and greatest of kings, king Rāja Rāja Narēndra. The history of Rajahmundry, it may be said, is briefly the history of successive dynasties of sovereigns that ruled over the Andhra country with their capital at Rajamahendravaram. It is also the history of the Āndhradēśa in a narrow sense. It is the scene of a hundred battles, of base treachery and inhuman cruelties, of bloody revolutions and counter-revolutions. It is also the celebrated city where the greatest poets and scholars of our land flourished and wrote some of their immortal *kavyas* and brought undying glory and fame. Rajahmundry's contributions to the cultural and intellectual life of the country are indeed matters of supreme pride to every Andhra.

1 In old Telugu Inscriptions down to the XVII century A. D. the name has been spelt as Rajamahendravaram which must be taken to represent the pronunciation of the times. In still later days, however, it appears to have been pronounced as Rajamahendrum or Rajamundrum. The Muhammadans of the Dekhan who were mainly Turks or their descendants who were unable to pronounce the long sanskrit name condensed it into Rajamahendri which again became softened as Rajahmundry, during the days of French and the English occupation of the country. There is also abundant epigraphical evidence to show that in the early mediæval period, i.e., during the days of the Kakatiya Empire and Reddi suzerainty Rajamahendravaram was referred to by the people of the Andhramandala as Nagaram or Gautamipuram also,

A great poet of the fifteenth century, *Kavisârvabhauma* Śrinātha-Bhaṭṭa describes the city as it was in its heyday of glory in the following beautiful verses.

సీ॥ ఉండు నేటిట మాన్మండేయమునినాథ సజ్జనిగమనం శాసమండు,
 ప్రవహించు నేటిటి పశ్చిమప్రాకార మొనె గంగమ్మ సాగరముకొమ్మ,
 యావ్భవింపినా డేవీకోటగా బలభవ మనగోపాలమూర్తి,
 పాలించు నేటిటి ప్రాగుడకోటంబు నుమబోటి శ్రీమల్లనాంశక్తి,
 తే॥ ప్రబల భారాసునతాగి భద్రబాహుకిరి, ఘటా, పైఠ్య, సున్నాన తిరిగి లోహ
 గోపురద్వారక వాటపక్రమితి, మతిసాంద్రవిధవంబు, రాజమ హేంద్రపురము.

Kasikhandamu.

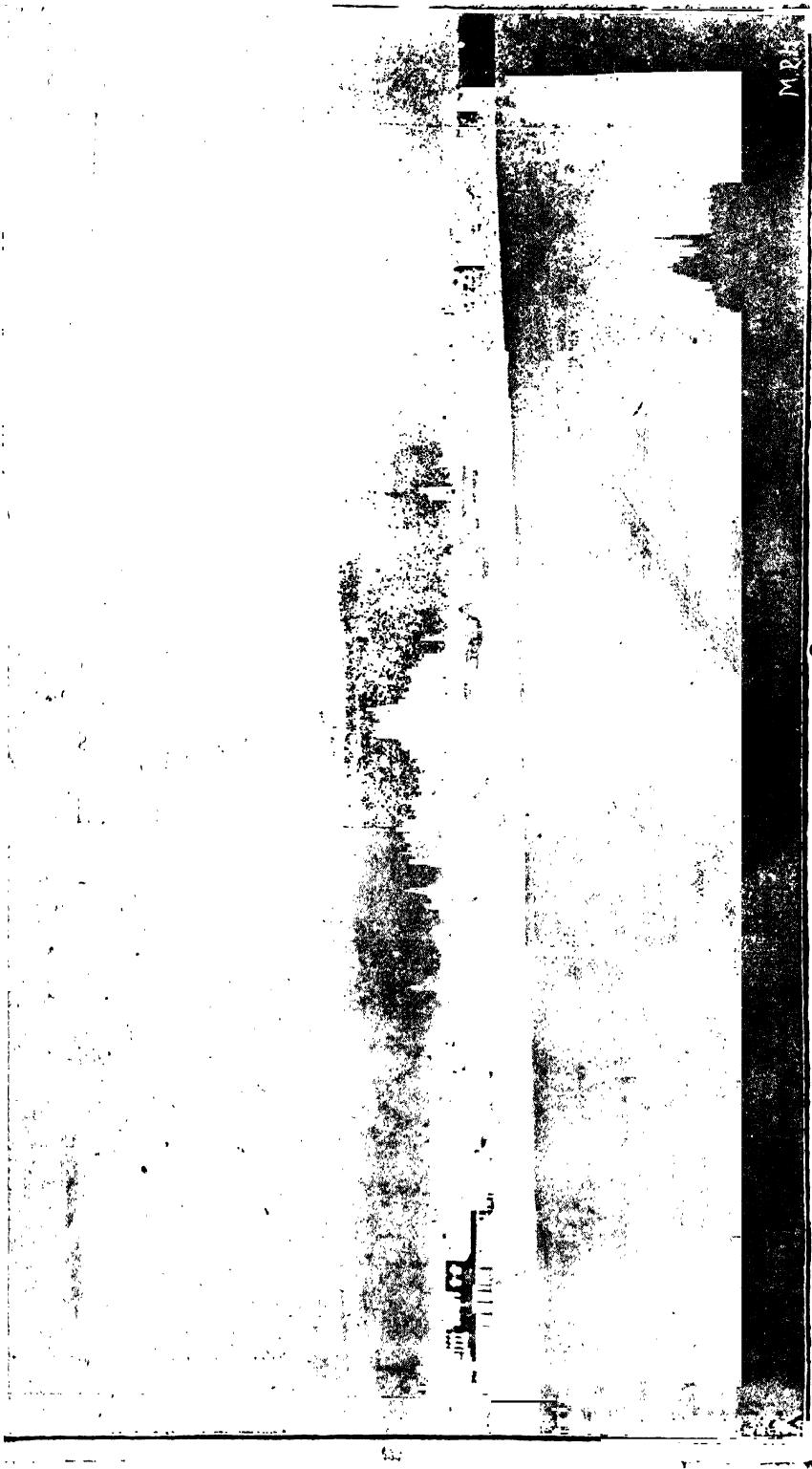
సీ॥ కనులాచలాగ్రి మాన్మండేయ శివశివ శృంగినింగికా శరణ నాధపీఠ,
 గోదావరీ పుణ్యక్షాలంక సావలస్సరితి శ్రీగుడ్రపాదయుగళి,
 బలనదభ్యున్నత ప్రాకారపరివేష గంధూషితాబాలవ మంజులంబు,
 గంధవంతావళి నైర్మల్యే ఘటకా కంకా ముఖ ఘటాపథంబు,
 శీ॥ రామింబాసనా నాత్మనైర్మల్యే, రీతిగాహుత్రిమధట పరిశీలనాగ్రి,
 వేమఘోపాల రాజ్యాధిపతికరము, సాంద్రవిధవంబు రాజమ హేంద్రపురము.

Bhimesvarapuramamu.

In these two verses the poet describes the city in his own inimitable and picturesque manner the capital of his patron Allāḍa Vemā Redḍi king of Rajahmundry. "It is the city where the spotless white *linga* the emblem of god Śiva the destroyer of Ananga (Cupid), called after the sage Mārkaṇḍēya is enshrined; it is where the river Ganga (Godavari), ² the beloved of the *Sagara* (ocean) flows by touching the western outer wall of (the *prakara*) the city: where in the 'fort' of the city *Madanagopala* the queller of the pride of Indra manifested himself; where the north-eastern corner of the city is protected by *Sri Mullagūri Sakti* a goddess that resembles *Umā* the consort of Śiva; a city which is protected by an invincible and splendid array of *mast* elephants that were presented by the *Sultan of Dhāra*, ³ by horses, charriots and an army of brave soldiers, and by impregnable gates of the fortress fixed in adamant towers—such is Rajamahendrapura, a city which is the very ocean of the Goddess of Fortune herself." "It is the city that shines like

² Godavari is popularly balled Ganga and the elder sister of the northern Ganga or the Ganges. All over the Dekhan Godavari is called Ganga only.

³ Dhara is in Malwa. It was in the reign of Sultan Dilawar Khan that the capital of Malwa was shifted to Dhar. I shall have occasion to refer to the Sultans of Dhar in the course of this paper when I come to the days of Reddi Dynasty of Rajamahendravaram.



Rajahmundry and the river Godavari.



View of the molar temple of Ma-kandya from the river bank.



The idol of Sri Madanagôpa as Ami.

the silvery ray of the Moon in the crest of *Markandeya Siva* established on the top of the *Kamalāchala* hill; where shine eternally the two holy feet of Rudra (*Rutrapāda*) being perpetually washed by the sacred waters of the Godavari; where the strong and fierce-looking *prakara* (protecting outer wall) rises high spreading its lustre into the holy of the stars even; the place that resounds with the gongs of bells tied to rutting elephants roaming in the streets; the new jewel box of the moon-faced goddess *Lakshmi* (kingdom); the abode of mighty warriors and intrepid horsemen, the glorious city that perpetually increases the prosperity of the kingdom of *Vamabhūpāla*; the city which is verily the ocean of the goddess of Fortune. Such is the magnificent city of *Rajamahendrapura*."

Elsewhere in these poems *Kasikhandam* and *Bhimakhadam* the poet further incidentally refers to the deity called *Nrisimhasvāmin* established on the sacred mount of *Vēdātri*,⁴ to the temple of *Śrī Virābhadrēśvara* in the fort,⁵ and the 'magnificent palace of the Reddi monarch *Virabhadra Reddi*, called *Trailokya Vijaya*,⁶ in the citadel, from where the waves that dance on the sparking surface of the Godavari river, could be seen.

We are very much indebted to *Śrīmātha* whose graphic description in wonderful poetic diction of the beautiful city gives us an excellent picture of its ancient days. Today not a trace of the places described is to be seen in this city. The lofty and fierce city walls,⁷ the deep moat, the impregnable citadel surround by another deep ditch, the old town with its ancient temples, palaces and public buildings, all of them have disappeared, the hand of time and the sword of man have mercilessly erased them beyond all recognition. A rampart here, a portion of a battered wall there, a mosque or two in the principal

4 *Kasikhandam*. Introduction V. 16. Vavilla Edition.

..వేదాత్రిని సేవించుచున్నప్పుడు కన్యాకాశి కాగలహరి."

5 *Bhimesvarapurānam*, Canto I. V. 75

..రాజును సేవించుచున్నందు గావించె శ్రీవీరభద్రునిననుబాకాన కథ"

6 *Kasikhandam*. Introduction V. 9

2. ..వైరాగ్య విజయసౌధవి, శాలమహోత్సవం చంద్రకాలాంతరే
నాగేశ్వరే శాతమకన్యాకాశి విహరితాండవాటాపునకు."

3. ..వైరాగ్యవిజయసౌధవి సౌధము చంద్రకాలా పృథ్వీశంకరుడు "

See also *Sivalilāvisam* of *Nissanka Kommana*.

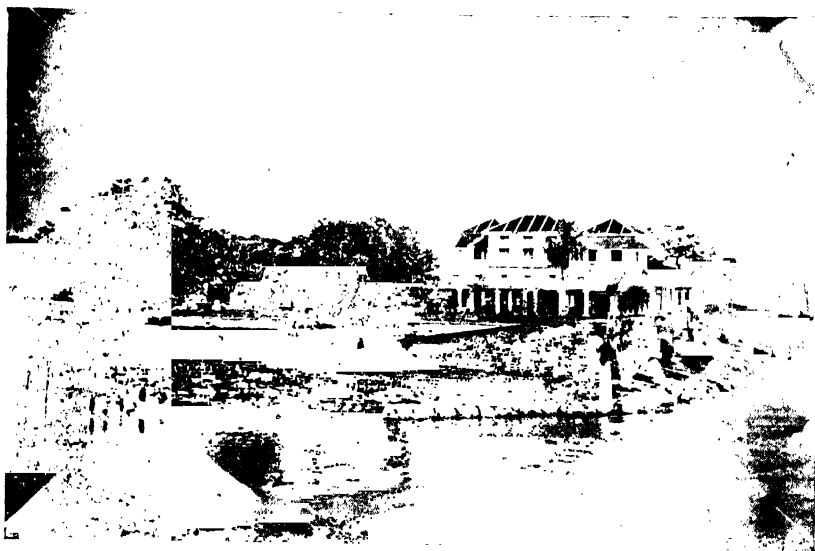
7 Traces of the outer *prakara* (outer wall) which once stood abutting on the river can still be seen in two places; near the *Kumbhamvari Choultry* on the south and the District Judge's bungalow on the north. Even the traces of an archway in the wall at the edge of the river, for people to go to the river from the town are also seen; near the *Kumbhamvari Choultry*.

street and ruins of celebrated hindu temples-heaps of carved stone-pillars, images and statues, lying scattered all over the city-are perhaps the only ancient monuments that remain to day to recall to our mind their woeful tale mingled with the glorious and forgotten history of this once proud city.

Unfortunately the modern town has no traces of its former beauty ; all the magnificent edifices and picturesque streets that once adorned it have disappeared. The old town has outgrown its original dimensions. The suburbs of Innespeta on the south along the edge of the river, Aryapuram and Virabhadrapuram on the north, Jamipeta, Danavāyigunta⁸ and Lakshmivarpeta on the east and a number of others are all modern extensions, and did not form part of the ancient city. The town in olden days, too, appears to have been on the southern side of the citadel as it is today, on the slopes of a huge hill, with a set of seven parallel streets running down the slope, to the edge of the river or the western *prakara* in the river from east to west. The principal street, as at the present day, ran across the town which is about three quarters of a mile in length from the southern gateway (*simhadwara*) of the fort to the entrance into the city or the city-gate in the outer-wall (*prakara*) on the south, in all probability somewhere in the vicinity of the Jumma Masjid. Though this principal street is still to be seen it has not retained its ancient beauty. It is no longer wide enough for elephants to pass freely with their huge bells, ringing, as they did once. On either side it has been encroached upon by the greedy trader and instead of being straight and broad as it was once it has become curved and narrow from the beginning to the end. This street must have been very broad in ancient times for all *rajaavidhis*, we know, were laid out with a span of forty cubits (*Rajahasta*). Even the seven parallel streets, traces of which are still to be seen, are likewise encroached upon and have therefore become ugly, narrow and crooked.

A casual visitor to this town coming from the Railway Bridge is able to see the magnificent ruins, the lofty bastions of the ancient fortress, overlooking the river. Of the many ramparts that once fortified the citadel three alone remain today, one of them being on a higher level than the rest. On this rampart there stands at the present day the bungalow of the assistant engineer of the M. & S. M. Railway Company Limited. It is said that this is the spot where once stood the beautiful palace, Trailōkyavijaya, of the Reddi kings.

⁸ Literally Dalavayi-gunta means the Captain's Tank or the General's Tank. *Dalavayi* is the Telugu word for a person of military rank not below the rank of a captain.



View of the southern portion of the Fort and the Judge's Bungalow
on one of the ramparts overlooking the river,



View of the northern portion of the Fort and the Railway
Asst. Engineer's Bungalow on the inner bastion.
Note the double line of fortifications and the entrance into the
inner citadel from the river,



One of the ruined ramparts of the inner fortifications.

On its summit is the Railway Assistant Engineer's Bungalow
Trailokyavijaya of the Reddi king is supposed to have stood on this place



Ruins of the rampart on the north eastern corner of the Fort
now being dug out for house sites.,

In the 'fort' there are very few antiquities to day. Śrī āha tells us that there were two temples in the citadel, of *Madanagopala* and *Virabhadresvara*, though not a trace of them appears today. The shrine of *Virabhadra* appears to have stood in the enclosure of the A. E. L. Mission Buildings called '*Riverdale*,' in the western part of the 'fort'. In the compound of the District Munsif's Court which is adjoining the *River Lake* there is a low level ground which is pointed out as the bed of the holy tank belonging to the temple of Śiva which stood to the west of it in days gone by. Some of the ruins of the temple, it is said, were removed by the Mission authorities about half a century ago to some place, but the existence of some still in the adjacent compound of the Imperial Bank of India suggests strongly the existence of a temple in the locality at one time. The temple itself might have been destroyed in the early days of the eighteenth century, if not earlier, when the English and the French fought for supremacy in the Northern Circars, when the fort of Rajahmundry suffered many a stormy siege. Beneath the bastion on which stands the Railway engineer's bungalow, there is a huge archway built of stone which looks like an entrance into something beyond. I have heard some people say that, it is the entrance to a subterranean passage leading to the fort called Peddapuram situated at a distance of twenty miles to the northwest. But others told me that it contains a passage to Korukonda, a hill at the foot of which once stood a flourishing town and citadel. The town of Korukonda lies at a distance of twelve miles to the north of Rajahmundry. I cannot attest the truth or otherwise of these assertions for I have not met anybody who examined the cavity or had gone into the passage even for a short distance. The entrance in recent years has been closed with mud and brick under orders of a missionary who lived in the bungalow opposite to the archway as he considered it to be dangerous to 'public society'. There are people today who saw in that cavity a *linga*, the emblem of Śiva, and this to me appears to be the reason that prompted the missionary gentleman to close the entrance into the cavity. I, however, suspect that that cavity was something more than a secret temple of Śiva; there might be some truth in the popular belief that it contained a subterranean passage to a place which cannot be known today. The other temple of *Madanagopala*, the protecting deity of the citadel, is also not to be seen at the present day. It is said to have stood on the site now covered by the eastern end of the platform of Godavari Railway station, near the level crossing, just behind the building now occupied by the Subordinate Judge's Court. Thus it stood inside the fort, in all probability to the west of the entrance tower, *Simhadvara gopura* behind the walls of the citadel, within the inner *prakara*.

When the entrance-tower of the fort was destroyed the temple too might have suffered the same fate being situated closely behind it. Till the days of the construction of the railway line across the fort of Rajahmundry and over the ramparts, the temple stood at least in name in a dilapidated condition and *bairagis* used to take shelter beneath the shade of the banyan trees and the *mantapa* in the vicinity. When the last traces of the temple were removed by the engineering department of the Railway Company to make room for the Railway line, the idol was carried by some devotee to the Museum Gardens situated near by. There it is placed in the verandah of the Museum Building and seen to this day. Uncared for, it is kept in a corner, a splendid monument of marvellous sculpture and rare beauty.

The shrine of Śrī Mullagūri Śakti, the protecting goddess of the city on the north-eastern corner of the fort has also suffered the ravages of cruel time and unwitting man. The old structure having apparently been destroyed totally, some years ago a pious gentleman constructed a small building and installed the goddess there. The present temple stands, it is said, on the same spot where once the original shrine stood. The name of the goddess being too long and difficult to pronounce, the ignorant and the illiterate folk distorted it into Mulla-Gōralamma, Gōralamma and finally Kōralamma. The modern temple is in the vicinity of the Veterinary Hospital, a few hundred yards from the eastern fortgate, to the north of the Grand Trunk Road.

The 'Fort' had two gates, fixed in huge towers (*gopura*), one on the east and the other on the south. The main gate was to the south. Both the gate-towers (*gopura-dvara*) have long ago disappeared. The eastern gate remained in name till recently and was mentioned in certain private documents during the early years of the nineteenth century as a boundary to certain buildings on that side of the Fort. The 'fort' which was roughly a square and occupied half a square mile seems to have had a double line of fortifications, for we have traces today of two ditches and two sets of ramparts, one behind the other. The inner citadel covered the area now occupied by the Police Maidan, Godavari Railway station, Museum Gardens and all other public buildings to the west of them as far as the Railway Assistant Engineer's bungalow on the west, while the outer fortifications surrounded the moat of the inner citadel which is still to be seen. The Pithapuram Maharajah's bungalows on either side of the inner citadel (i. e. one lying to the south of the Railway Bridge and the other on the northern side, on the southern outskirts of Aryapuram) the District Court and a few others formed the

parts of the outer fortifications and its ramparts. The fort-wall was very thick and it appears to have been nearly as broad as fifteen yards at the top and nearly sixty or seventy feet high as can be seen even today from its remains. It was a thick mud wall faced with hewn stone. Water for the inner ditch was supplied from the river by means of a channel cut in the rock on the north-western corner of the Fort where traces are still visible. The water thus supplied to this inner ditch went round the citadel and probably flowed into the outer ditch by some contrivance which cannot be seen now.

The whole town was apparently enclosed in earlier times within a high outer wall (*prakara*) which Śrīnātha described so graphically. Remains of this outer wall were seen near the edge of the river till a few years ago and a battered portion of it is still to be seen near the Judge's bungalow on the north and the Kumbhamvari Choultry on the south. In the town, too, are to be seen portions of this wall but the increasing height of the buildings and the level of the roads are fast making their feeble appearance even difficult; and in course of time, I am afraid, even these fastly vanishing vestiges will totally disappear. This city wall was surrounded by another deep ditch which too has become practically invisible to the eye. The ancient town was three quarters of a mile in length along the edge of the river and nearly as much in width towards the east. It extended as far as the outskirts of the modern suburb of Innespeta or more probably Vullitōṭa (Garlic Gardens) on the south and as far as the old temple of Śyāmālāmba (Sōmālamma) lying two or three hundred yards to the west of the modern temple, on the west. The outer moat round the city-wall was apparently a branch of the stream called Tulyabhāgā which branched off from the river Godavari somewhere in the north of the citadel and flowed round the town and discharged itself into the river somewhere near the Red Hill near the Kumbhamvari Choultry on the south. The main stream Tulyabhāgā, however, appears to have flowed down southwards as a small river and fell into the sea near Chollangi, a small fishing village to the north of Cocanada. Tulyabhāgā is today a small drainage channel visible from Kačiam. Whatever might be the mythical origin of this stream according to the *Bhimesvarapurana*, I believe it was dug out originally by the founders of the city of Rājamahēndrapura for the purpose of serving as a feeder stream to the ditches on the eastern side, and to serve as a drain to carry away the stagnated water from the ditches. Thus in support of this view we have a statement in the *Bhimesvarapurana* 9

from itself which is at once suggestive of the fact that it was a very unhealthy stream and therefore unfit for purposes of bathing for the acquisition of merit, except on certain specified occasions during the course of the year when the river Godavari would usually be in flood.

The ancient city of Rājamahēndranagara was evidently built on the western slopes of a huge rock on the left bank of the river. The site was apparently selected on account of its strategic situation on the eastern bank of the river. This rock appears to have had three or four peaks, overlooking the river which have become sanctified by the popular imagination and construction of temples on them in course of time. These peaks have become celebrated on account of the capital city that had grown round them and the flow of the holy stream Godavari. These sacred hills are known as Pushpagiri, Kamalāchala, and Vēdātri. None of these hills are seen today though the *Gautarūmahātmyam* mentions them and gives an elaborate account of their sanctity. They are all buried now under the huge quantities of silt and sand deposited by the river within the outer *prakara* of the city after it was destroyed. Pushpagiri stood near the Railway bridge; it is the sacred spot at which a dip in the river throughout the year and particularly during the *pushkara* festival that comes once in twelve years is considered highly meritorious by the Hindus. Kamalāchala on whose top once stood the temple of Mārkaṇḍeya Śiva is also not visible today; it must have stood in the vicinity of its modern replica. Close by is the spot which was celebrated for the *Rudrapāda*, the sacred feet of Rudra which also cannot be seen. Vēdātri, too, is not to be seen, and with it the shrine of *Narasimhasvamin* which poet Śrinātha saw and worshipped has totally disappeared. There is today a small shrine near the Kambhamvari Choultry dedicated to *Narasimhasvamin*; from the existence of which and the extant local tradition I am inclined to believe that it once stood within the western *prakara*, somewhere at its southern extremity.

Of the many ancient temples that once filled the city with beauty and splendour, not one remains today: all of them having been desecrated and turned into mosques at some period or other. The principal mosque or the Jumma Masjid as it is called, near the market was a hindu temple in olden times as the sculptural designs on the front gateway strongly suggest. There is an inscription in Persian characters over the main entrance of it which places the fact beyond all doubt. Popular tradition tells us that at one time it was a temple of Vishṇu under the name of Gōpīnātha, and that it was destroyed, the officiating priests killed and a mosque built



The supposed entrance into the subterranean passage from the fort leading to Peddâpuram or Kôrukonda.

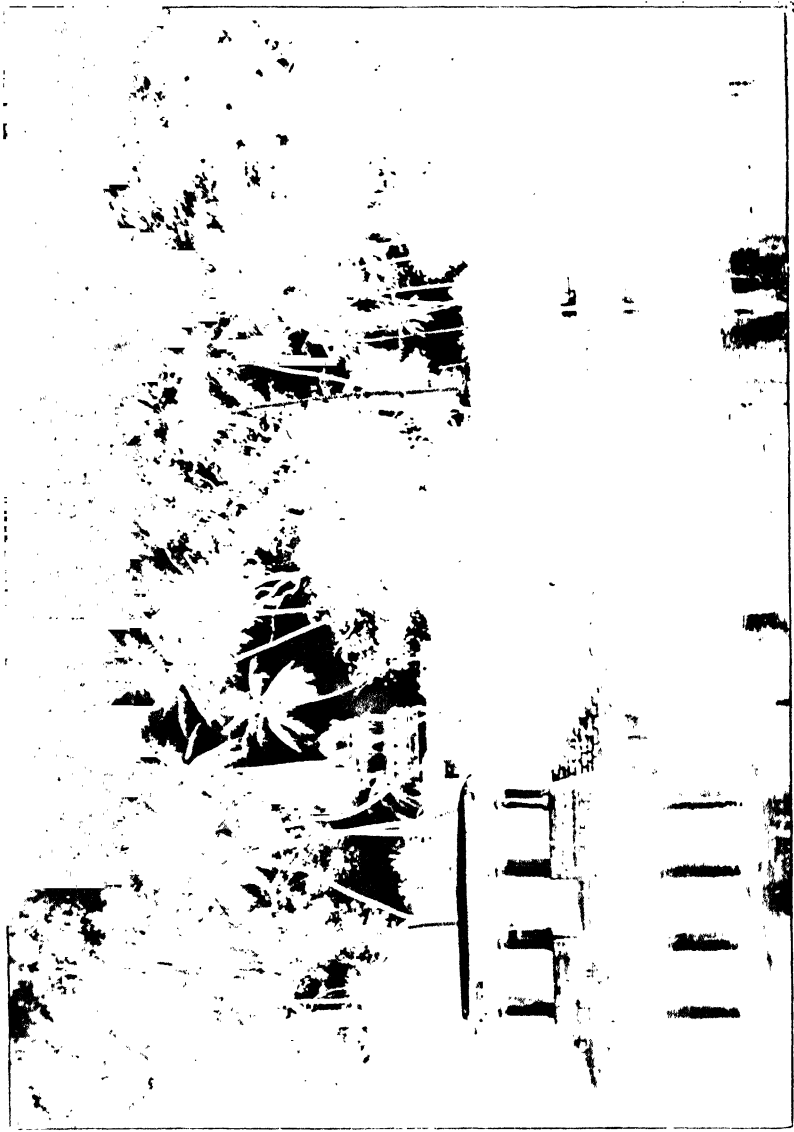


View of the Entrance into the Jumma Masjid which was originally a Hindu temple. Note the Hindu style of sculpture of the gateway.



well

The Mount of Sârangadhara. In the foreground is the well underneath the cluster of trees into which Chitrângi is said to have been thrown. In the back ground is the temple of Sârangadhara now under construction



Temple of Chālukya Bīmāśvara near Samakot, built by Chālukya Bhīma I.

during the Mahommedan invasion, roughly six hundred years ago.¹⁰ It is said that on the night of the brutal attack on the temple the remaining priests ran away with the deity and installed it on the bank of the river and subsequently raised a small edifice which was afterwards enlarged and rebuilt. The abandoned temple had thus become converted into the mosque which can be seen today. The old sculptured stone gateway or the *simhadvara* is still there but only with some of its beautiful human figures and other sculptural devices carefully defaced and mutilated so as to destroy every sign or trace of its hindu or brahmanical appearance. The tradition relating to the desecration of the hindu temple seems to be true for it is said in the Persian inscription referred to above that it was built as the 'temple of God'. There is another mosque situated to the south of the 'Fort-Gate' near the Godavari Railway station as it is called even to this day, which has still traces of a hindu temple dedicated to Śiva. I did not discover any writing in ancient Telugu or Persian characters but the architectural and sculptural designs as well as the existence of a *linga*, the emblem of Śiva in the enclosure, on the top of a tomb are strong evidences of the fact of its having been once a hindu temple. A third mosque is in the Kazi's street (also called Dada Saheb street), but unlike the other two, is in a highly ruined condition. The locality in which this mosque is situated was once the *haveli* (palace) of the Mahommedan rulers of the Rajahmundry province and the mosque in question is said to be the private mosque of the royal family. Local tradition tells us that the site covered by this mosque is the hill Kamalāchala on whose top once stood the temple of *Markandeya* and that during the days of Mahommedan occupation and rule, the temple was demolished, the *linga* pulled out and a mosque erected there, during the XVI or XVII century. And that later on a potter's family picked up the *linga* and placed it in their house not knowing what to do with it. The potter's successors used it as a polishing stone for their pots, and later still in the beginning of the nineteenth century the *linga* was discovered to be that of *Markandeya* temple by Guṇḍu Śōbhanādri, the then Zamindar of Rajahmundry, who was a pious man. In or about A. D. 1810 he got the present shrine constructed on his private site and installed the *linga* in all pomp and ceremony. The mosque which is at the present day in a ruined condition has still traces of its hindu origin.

As has been mentioned already the level of the town is rising rapidly like the level of the river bed itself. The continued annual deposit of sand in the bed of the river opposite to the town, the disappearance

10. See below, where the date is discussed.

of the city wall on the west, along the edge of the river and other changes wrought by time and nature might have been the causes for this rapid increase in the level of the town. Even within the last fifty or sixty years there has been a marked increase, and there is no wonder therefore that in the fifteenth century A. D. when the river was in a far lower level than it is today and the city in a flourishing state, the city-wall appeared 'so high as to reach the firmament.' It is, therefore, possible to believe that the ancient town lies buried at least ten to fifteen feet beneath the level of the modern town, for we discover here and there huge massive structures in brick underneath the layers of earth when foundations for new buildings are dug. With its indiscriminate growth of buildings, formation of lanes, blind lanes, alleys and crooked streets the modern town gives a very poor idea of its former magnificence, not to speak of the unsurmountable difficulties it throws in the path of the antiquarian and the archæologist, who vainly endeavour to get a peep into the glorious past of this ancient and proud city of the Chalukyas.

2. EVENTS THAT LED TO THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY.

Henry Morris, writing in 1878 about Rajahmundry, recorded that local tradition current in his day ascribed the foundation of the city to one Vijayāditya Mahēndruḍu, one of the sovereigns of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty.¹¹ We know of one prince among the Eastern Chalukyas who bore the name of Vijayāditya and the surname *Mahendra* or more properly *Rajamahendra* and that is Ammaraja II. who ruled from A. D. 945 to 973. Mr. Virabhadra Rao pantulu writes¹² that local tradition which he recorded ascribes the founding of the town to Vishnuvardhana Ammaraja I. surnamed Rājamahēndra, who is said to have called the new capital after his own *biruda* Rājamahēndra, as Rājamahēndranagara. Local traditions of this type are, however, peculiarly uncertain and therefore unreliable. On the contrary there is some epigraphical evidence¹³ and a solitary literary reference to show that the city was built by Rājarāja Narēndra (A. D. 1022-1063) surnamed Rājamahēndra. He is the third of the princes of the family of the Eastern Chalukyas who bore the special surname Rajamahēndra. It is the poet Vinnakōṭa Peddana, the author of *Kavyalankarachudamani*, a work on poetics, that stated that Rājarāja Narēndra was the builder of the city of Rājamahēndranagara, which he called

11. A Descriptive Account of the GODAVARI DISTRICT, by H. Morris p 168.

12. 'Rājamahēndravarcharitam', 1915. Page 3.

13. A. R. No. 214 of 1899; (No. 663 of S. I. I., Vol. VI)

after his own surname. His book was dedicated to prince Chālukya Viśvabhūpati, a scion of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty of Rajahmundry who traced his descent from one Vishnuvardhana, a member of one of the junior branches of that house that immediately captured the throne of Rājamahēndrapura, immediately after the departure of Vikrama Chōla in A. D. 1118, to the south on the death of Kulōttunga Chōla Dēva I. and reigned over Vēngi-maṇḍala only for a short period.¹⁴ This prince Chalukya Viśvabhūpati lived in the earlier part of the fourteenth century and ruled over a small territory in the Vizagapatam district with his capital at a place called Panchadārīa. In describing this prince the poet Peddana incidentally tells us about his patron's great ancestor, Rajaraja Narēndra as the builder of the city.¹⁵ This fact is also mentioned in two of the inscriptions of the prince Chalukya Viśvēśvarabhūpati found in the temple of *Dharmalingesvarasvamin* at Panchadārīa.¹⁶ Vinnakōṭa Peddana and his patron Viśvabhūpati lived roughly three centuries after Rājarāja Narēndra as the inscriptions themselves clearly bear out. It is a matter of great doubt, therefore, whether the statements of a panegyrist and his patron who wanted to glorify the pedigree by stating a fact which no other poet or king that preceded them ever mentioned. A similar statement, rather a misstatement of fact, appears elsewhere in an inscription of another scion of this selfsame later Eastern Chalukya house. Vijayaditya, a prince of this illustrious Eastern Chalukya family but belonging to another collateral branch and ruling in another part of the country in the north somewhere in the neighbourhood of Śrī-Kurmam in the Ganjam district, mentioned in an inscription at Śrī Kurmam that Rajaraja son of the Eastern Chalukya emperor, Vimaladitya, one of his ancestors, residing at Rājamahēndrapaṭṭaṇa had together with scholars translated into Andhra (language) the history of the excellent Bharata race, meaning thereby *Mahabharata*.¹⁷ No credence can be given at all to this statement, for it is known

14. Piṭhapuram Pillar Inscription of Mallapadēva. : Ep. Ind. Vol. V. and the Erarupalli Inscription of Vishnuvardhana in the Andhrabhāratī Vol.III p. 353 ff (1913), Ll. 87—90.

15. Kavyālakṣārachūḍamani, Pradharmōllasam,

రాజమహేంద్రపురస్థాత రాజనరేంద్రుం డెమ్మవ తాతయేవిభును'

16. See note 13 ante, A.R. No. 214 of 1899. (S.I.I. Vol. VI. p. 249. Ll. 27 to 30; (V.7)

సోమాస్వయే రాజనరేంద్రభూపో భూత్యామహేంద్రేణ సమాధిభూవః

తస్మాద భూద్రాజమహే స్త్రీనామా గోదాతతేకా రిపురం స్వనామ॥

17. Ep. Ind. Vol. V. p. 31. No. A. dated S. S. 1195; (A. D. 1273). l. 5 :—

'Śrī Rājarājanpātiḥ Praviślakīrtiḥ yas-sūribhis-saha kila Smṛitijālasāram-andhrī chakāra vara Bhārata vamsa vṛttam.

that Nanniyabhatta wrote the *Andhra Mahabharata* beyond all doubt. It might be that these petty princes ruling in distant parts outside the Vēngimaṇḍala and tracing their descent from the illustrious king Rajaraja and his father Vimalāditya for their self-edification, probably invented traditions and events and gave currency to them. The attributing to Rajaraja the composition of *Andhra Mahabharata* and the construction of the capital, Rajamahēndrapaṭṭaṇa, are not therefore historical facts in as much as they are the result of the poetic imagination of the courtiers and the panegyrists of the descendants of the Eastern Chalukya house in later days.

Though there is no direct epigraphical evidence in support of the tradition which attributes the foundation of the city to Ammaraja I. as there is in the case of the Rashtrakūṭa capital, Mānyākhēta, there is yet plenty of other evidence to enable us to accept this as historically probable if not actually true. Apart from the fact that Ammaraja I. was the first prince of his house to call himself by the *birula*, Rajamahēndra which might be taken to have induced the people in course of time to originate the tradition, there are other facts and important events that took place in the two preceding reigns of Ammaraja I., that give a historical basis to the tradition. There are also equally strong reasons to induce us to assume that this event could not have taken place later, either in the reigns of Vijayāditya Ammaraja II. who ruled from A.D. 945 to 973 (?) or in the reign of Rājarāja Narēndra who was on the throne from A. D. 1022 to 1063, and who had both of them borne the special title, Rajamahēndra. So far as the history of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi is known, these three princes alone had called themselves by that *birula*. Rajamahēndra Ammaraja I. came to the throne early in A. D. 918, if not a few months earlier, i. e. in December 917, and reigned for seven years till 925. And if we accept the ancient tradition the city must be taken to have been founded immediately after the king had ascended the throne, i. e. in or about A. D. 918 and probably completed in the next few years if not in the next following reigns.

Events that led to the building of the new capital city and virtual abandoning the old capital Vengi are indeed far to seek. They are shrouded in confusion and in oblivion and it is indeed difficult to discern them and construct a connected history of the times. It may be assumed that the exigencies of time and the constantly troubled condition of the kingdom from the days of Kubja-Vishnuvardhana, the founder of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty of Vēngi or more probably from the days of Vijayāditya I. (A. D. 751—769-70.),

grand-son of Mangi-Yuvarāja, and the continued hostilities between the Rāshtrakūṭas of Malkhed and the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēngi coupled with the events of the two reigns that immediately preceded that of Vishnuvardhana Ammarāja I. might be the chief causes that led to the building of the new capital on the left bank of the river Godavari and also of the desertion of the old city, Vēngipura the ancient seat of the house, for ever.

Before we narrate the events of the reign of Ammarāja I. and his immediate predecessors that led to the construction of the new city, it is necessary to trace the history of the hostilities between the two great powers of the Dekhan, the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Eastern Chālukyas that fought for supremacy and the establishment of a vast empire. During the reign of Vijayāditya I. (A. D 751—769—770) there occurred many and important changes in the western and the central Dekhan. There was revolt followed by a revolution at the Western Chālukya capital, Bādāmi; and in a short time a new and a mighty power known as the Rāshtrakūṭas came into existence and shook to the foundations the kingdom of the Western Chālukyas. The capital of the new power is said to be Achalapura originally, which has been identified with Elichpur in the Central Provinces, where some of the inscriptions of the earliest kings, of the seventh century A. D. have been discovered. From Elichpur, the capital was shifted to Nāsik on the Godavari, and later still to Mānyakhēta, (Malkhed in the Nizam's Dominions), the new capital constructed by Gōvinda III. This new power shook off the yoke of the Western Chālukyas, drove them out of the country and finally usurped their suzerainty in the Dekhan about the middle of the eighth century A.D. It was about this time, too, that the Eastern Chālukyas who had still looked to Bādāmi as their natural home interfered on behalf of their unfortunate cousins and invaded the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom. The result was the breaking out of new hostilities between the Eastern Chālukyas and the Rāshtrakūṭas of Nāsik at that time. In course of time the struggle took a new turn and became a fight for supremacy and for the establishment of a large and mighty empire from the confines of the Vindhya mountains in the north to the banks of the Tungabhadra in the south. There were other kingdoms besides, the Western Gāngas, the Nolamba-Pallavas, the Vaidumbas and the Chōlas in the south, the Haihayas of Chēdi, the Gurjaras, the Mālavas and the Kalingas in the north, who in a way submitted for one reason or other to the overlordship of the Rāshtrakūṭas; but the two great powers that struggled for paramount and wide supremacy in those days in the Dekhan were the Eastern Chālukyas and the Rāshtrakūṭas.

As we have remarked above, the immediate cause of these continued hostilities between these two kingdoms appears to be the interference of the Eastern Chālukya prince, Vijayāditya I. who invaded the territories of the Rāshtrakūṭas in order to draw them away and divide their attention at a time when they were steadily pressing upon the Western Chālukya capital, Bādāmi. The invasion was doubtless unsuccessful; in that struggle the Western Chālukyas were completely crushed by the Rāshtrakūṭas who at the same time inflicted a severe disaster on the king of Vēngi. The last and the decisive battle during that war seems to have taken place on the borders of the Eastern Chālukya dominions, not far from the confluence of the two rivers, the Mūsi and the Krishna. 18 This is the first event known to us in the history of the hostilities between the two great powers of the Dekhan, from a Rāshtrakūṭa record of the times. It is the record of a grant of a village to a *brāhmaṇa* of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* by Yuvarāja Gōvinda II., surnamed Prabhūtavarsha and Vikramāvalōka and son of Kṛishṇarāja I. It was issued by the prince himself in S. S. 692 (A.D. 769), from his victorious camp, wherein it was incidentally mentioned that the king (i.e. Gōvindarāja II.) had just humbled the lord of Vēngi by invading his territories 19. This lord of Vēngi whom Gōvindarāja II. claims to have defeated might probably be Vijayāditya I. who appears to have died in or about the year A. D. 769-70. Gōvindarāja II probably invaded the Vēngimāṇḍala at that time with a view to wreak his vengeance against Vijayāditya I. whose interference in the affairs of the Rāshtrakūṭas was very much resented by the latter, and inflicted a disaster. The Eastern Chālukyas who were apparently badly beaten were compelled to sue for peace by ceding a portion of their territory and the treasury. 20 The event seems to be true though the Eastern Chalukya records are discreetly silent about this humiliation. It would therefore, appear that Vijayāditya I. who was old and for twenty years already on the throne, died on the battle-field and his young son Viṣṇuvardhana IV. surnamed Makaradhvaja was forced to accept a humiliating peace at the hands of his victors.

Though Vēngi did not suffer much by this 'humiliation', the hostilities thus commenced struck roots deeply and continued

18. Ep. Ind. vol. 6. p. 208, ll. 20-29.

19. Ibid. p. 209.

20. Ibid. ll. 24-26.

"..... Vēngimāṇḍala paryā
yata vijayaskandhāvarē kōśa dandatma bhūmi samarpanē
nānatē Vēngiśō Kṛishnavēnnā-Mūsi-sangamē"

uninterruptedly for a period of two centuries. During this long period there were constant wars between the two kingdoms, with varying success, however, on both sides. In these wars the Rāshtrakūṭas often induced their submissive neighbours, the Western Gāngas and the Nolambas on the south, the Haihayas and the Kalingas on the north to invade the Vēṅgimaṇḍala from time to time and cause incessant trouble by fomenting civil war and rebellion whenever possible. The pressure on Vēṅgi in those troubled times was indeed very great, but happily for the Āndhradeśa the princes of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty that sat on the 'lion throne' of Vēṅgi were far too powerful to succumb to that. This continued troubled state of the country had also brought about a change in the outlook of the rulers of the country; and the Eastern Chalukyas had from the days of Viṣṇuvardhana IV. ceased to look to Bādāmi as their natural home: they had begun to love the beautiful country of Vēṅgi, perpetually watered by the mighty rivers, the Godavari and the Krishna, the Tungabhadra and the Pirakini, the vast territory over which they ruled. Vēṅgi became henceforth the birth-place of the royal house of the Eastern Chalukyas.²¹ It was this deep and noble sentiment of abiding love and burning patriotism for their mother country that enabled the Eastern Chalukyas to win the hearts of the people they protected and establish themselves firmly on the throne of Vēṅgi uninterruptedly for a period of six long centuries. The Andhra country of today, it must be said to their credit, was the work of the house of the Eastern Chalukyas who moulded the wandering and warring tribes into a cultured and powerful race.

Sometime after the accession of Viṣṇuvardhana IV. (A.D.770) there broke out a war of succession in the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom. The two sons of Krishnarāja I., Yuvarāja Gōvinda II. and Nirupama-Dhruvaraja soon began to fight for the throne. But the younger prince Nirupama overpowered his careless and sensual brother and attained the sovereignty by completely superseding him.²² This supersession was certainly not peaceful. Prince Gōvinda is said to have made a desperate attempt to secure the succession for himself, by calling to his assistance even his erstwhile enemies, the kings of Mālava, Kāñchī, Vēṅgi and the Gānga country.²³ Viṣṇuvardhana IV. joined the confederacy of these kings, evidently not

21 "asti-prasasta-jātinām ratnāmān-iva vāridbhih
janmabhūmis-Chālukyānām dēśo-Vēṅgiti-vistrutah."

22 Ind. Ant. vol. 6, p. 62. "Jyēsthō-llanghana" etc., see also Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts p. 393.

23 Paithan Grant of Govinda III. Ep. Ind. vol. 3, p. 103.

so much with the intention of helping Gōvīndarāja against his brother but with the object of avenging the humiliation he had lately suffered at the hands of this self-same prince. This interference of the lord of Vēngi, a second time in the affairs of the Rāshtrakūṭas tended to inflame Nirupama, whose hatred for the Eastern Chalukyas never afterwards abated. From this time forward the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Eastern Chalukyas regarded each other as hereditary and natural enemies.

On the death of Vishṇuvarddhana IV. in A. D. 799, his two sons Vijayāditya II. surnamed Narēndramṭigārāja, and Bhīma Salukki soon began to fight for the throne.²⁴ This rivalry appears to have been encouraged if not actually brought about by the intrigues of the powerful Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III., (A. D. 784—814) the son and successor of Nirupama. This prince bore a strong grudge against Vishṇuvarddhana IV. who had joined the confederacy of several kings that attempted to oppose and prevent his accession to the throne after his father's death.²⁵ Gōvinda was a very powerful prince who extended the borders of his kingdom far into the north. He wanted a submissive kingdom on the east and in order to secure that, he brought about in Vēngi a war of succession on the death of Vishṇuvarddhana IV. Bhīma Salukki, the younger son of the king appears to have yielded to the temptations of his powerful neighbour who invaded Vēngimaṇḍala and proclaimed his protege as king of Vēngi. Once more there was civil war between the two rival claimants which continued for twelve long years. Undaunted by the treachery of his brother and enemies on all sides Vijayāditya II. fought valiantly many a successful battle and at last won the throne for himself. In this 'twelve years war' with Bhīma Salukki who was supported by the Western Gangas²⁶ on the south and the Kalingas on the north and Rāshtrakūṭas on the west, prince Vijayāditya II. was ably and loyally assisted by his another younger brother Nṛiparudra.²⁷ In this war victory in the beginning seems to have

24 Satalāru Plates of Gunaga-Vijayāditya. Bharati vol. 1., p. 911. 20-21.

"..... dvādaśa varsha yuddham Vallabhēnbraṇḍa—
nāyakaib-saha Bhīma-Salukē nāmānam svānujam nirjitya grhiṭa-Vēngimaṇḍalam chatvārīmā."'

See also Andhra Sāhitya Parishad Patrika, vol. X. p. 246.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid. 11; 16-17.

'sakala-Gāṅgākula garjjala jalada-ghatakōṭivitrāsana viśishtamarutah.'" etc.

27 Ibid, line 32 where there is a reference to his brother Nṛiparudra. And also S. I. I. vol. 1. pp. 31—39. Nṛiparudra is the son of Vishṇuvarddhana IV by another queen of the Haihaya family.

been with the traitor and his allies. And it seemed for a while that Gōvinda had placed his protege Bhima Salukki on the throne of Vēngi. In a record of his which is dated in A. D. 807 it is stated that "no sooner his (Gōvinda's) letter-carrier had half-uttered the command than the lord of Vēngi, longing for his own comfort, steadily like a servant without ceasing, did toil to construct the outer wall round his capital city, Mānyakhēta," which was apparently in the course of construction at that time.²⁸ The lord of Vēngi whom Gōvinda III. had thus insolently commanded could be no other than the traitor Bhīma Salukki.²⁹ In a later day grant of the Eastern Chalukya family it is said that Narēndra - Mṛigaraja Vijayāditya II. had after carrying in a 'twelve years' war' with the commanders of the Vallabha king (meaning Gōvinda III.) who had come to assist his brother, Bhīma Salukki (Chālukya Bhīma) did at last wrest the Vēngimaṇḍala from the latter.³⁰ And in commemoration of his numerous victories over his enemies, 'after fighting day and night for twelve long years,' he is said to have built one hundred and eight temples for the emblem of Śiva which he called after his own name, *Rājanarēndrasvāmi*.³¹ Thus though the Rāshtrakūṭas and Bhīma Salukki were successful in the beginning, victory was completely with Vijayāditya II. in the end. This twelve years war brought about by Bhīma Salukki to establish himself on the throne with the help of the Rāshtrakūṭas came to a close at last in or about A. D. 812, in the last days of Gōvinda III. At this period the Rāshtrakūṭa arms were everywhere defeated and Vijayāditya II. was able to beat back the commanders of Vallabha king probably with the help of kings of Kalinga, Vanga and Vidarbha³². Though there is no recorded evidence, prince Bhīma Salukki appears to have been defeated and slain and we do not hear of him afterwards. The Rāshtrakūṭa arms, during the last days of Gōvinda III. suffered great reverses as can be seen from the records of the contemporary kings and the lord of Vēngi contributed not a little to throw their kingdom into disorder and even threaten its disruption.³³ On the death of

28 Radhanpur plates of Govinda III. Ep. Ind. vol. 6, p. 239. ll. 34. 35.

"..... lōkhaḥāramukhōditā-radhavachaayatraitya Vēngisvarōṇityam
kimkarava-vya-

dhadāvirataḥ karma svaśaramēcheva vāhyālivriti-rasyayāna rachita vyōmā-
gra-lagnā rachad-rātraumauktika-mālikam-iva dhritamūrdhdasta tārāganāh."

29 Andhra Sahitya Parishad Patrika, vol. X. p. 246. It was my friend late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao Pantulu that identified first this Eastern Chālukya prince who was a vassal of Gōvinda III. as Bhīma Salukki.

30 Sataluru Plates of Gunaga-Vijayaditya (Bharti Vol I.) See also note 24 ante-

31 Ibid.

32 Sanjam Plates Govinda IV.

33 Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts. p. 402.

Gōvinda III. the Rāshtrakūṭas unable to carry on the struggle any longer, sought for peace. It is possible to believe that Vijayāditya II. then dictated the terms of peace which were not altogether humiliating; and one of them was probably to marry a Rāshtrakūṭa princess, Śīlamahādēvi to his son and heir-apparent, Kali-Vishṇuvardhana (v).³⁴ It is not known whose daughter this lady was, but it may be assumed that she was the daughter of Amōghavarsha I., the son and successor of Gōvinda III. At the time of the death of Gōvinda III. the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēngi were undoubtedly at the height of their power.

Vijayāditya II. was succeeded by his son Vishṇuvardhana V, commonly called Kali-Vishṇuvardhana who reigned for a short period only, (A. D. 840?-844). The temporary alliance brought about the marriage of a Rāshtrakūṭa princess at the point of sword was not observed very long. On the death of Vijayāditya II., it was easily scorned and causes for renewing for old hostilities appear to have been eagerly sought for by both the parties. We do not know what were the exact events that led to the breaking out of war or who was the aggressor. But it is probable to believe that Amōghavarsha I. who was all the while smarting under the indignities showered on his house, sought for a pretext and invaded Vēngimaṇḍala. A Rāshtrakūṭa record of the time of Gōvinda IV. states that Amōghavarsha I. conquered the Eastern Chālukyas at a place called Vingavill,³⁵ and a still later grant describes him as 'fire of destruction to the Chālukyas'.³⁶ This victory of Amōghavarsha I. at Vingavill over the king of Vēngi must have been over Kali-Vishṇuvardhana V. who after a brief rule died suddenly, probably on the battle-field.

Amōghavarsha I. took advantage of the sudden death of Vishṇuvardhana V. to throw Vēngi into disorder once more and prevent the accession of the rightful heir, Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III, son of Śīlamahādēvi, to the throne.³⁷ The old game of creating dissensions

34 Ponangy Plates of Gunaga Vijayaditya. C.P. No.3 of 1908, see Annual Report. on Epigraphy for 1909, p. 106, para 56.

35 Sangli Grant of Govinda IV. Ind. Ant. vol. 12 p. 247 dated A.D. 933.

36 Ibid. p. 268. Kard Grant of Kakkaraja II. dated 972

37 Sirār Grant of Amōghavarsha I. A. D. 866. (Int. Ant. vol. 12, p. 215) The king claims worship was done to him by the lord of Vēngi among others. Though this might be hyperbolical there is no doubt that the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch claimed at least a protege of his as the titular king of Vēngi, like his father. It is certain however, that Vijayāditya II. was not the prince that paid allegiance to Amōghavarsha I. The last named prince might have taken the earliest opportunity to incite rebellion by espousing the cause of a rival claimant who for a time unsuccessfully carried on civil war in Vēngi.

in the royal family and setting up a rival to the heir-apparent was again successfully repeated by Amōghavarsha I, and his son Krishṇa II. An opportunity came when Guṇaga-Vijayāditya crowned his younger brother prince Vikramāditya as the *Yuvarāja* in preference probably to Yuddhamalla another younger brother of his.³⁸ The latter was doubtless offended when he was overlooked and therefore soon raised the banner of revolt and the bid for the throne. The Rāshṭrakūṭas readily espoused his cause, and induced the Nolambas, the Western Gāngas and the Vaidumbas on the south, the Eastern Gāngas and the lord of Chādi on the north to invade Vēngi and support the cause of prince Yuddhamalla in the civil war that followed.³⁹ About the same time, too, the Bōya Chieftains of the wilds of the Nellore district and the southern Andhra country rebelled against Guṇaga-Vijayāditya.⁴⁰ It might be that Yuddhamalla was the cause of this revolt or more probably that he raised the banner of revolt against his brother with the assistance of the Bōya Chieftains. At this critical period of the fortunes of Vēngi, Vijayāditya III. stood undaunted and he was loyally supported by his other younger brothers, *Yuvarāja* Vikramāditya and Nṛipakāma and trustworthy commanders like Kaḍṇyarāja⁴¹ and Paṇḍaranga⁴² and wise counsellors like Vinayadīśarman.⁴³ Vijayāditya's reign may be said to be one of continued wars though his arms were everywhere successful. Yuddhamalla was perhaps defeated and slain or turned out of the country; but his successors were however giving incessant trouble to the rulers of Vēngi till the days of Ammarāja II.

Guṇaga-Vijayāditya (A. D. 844—888) is doubtless one of the greatest princes of his dynasty. He had acquired the titles of '*Tripurāmartya-mahēśvara*', '*Tribhuvanānkuṣa*', '*Birucāṅkabhīma*' and

38 C. P. No. 1 of 1913-14. Masulipatam Grant of Chalukya Bhima I.

39 Ep. Ind. vol. 9 p. 47 and the stone records of Pandaranga in Nellore District. See also Ponangy Plates of Gunaga-Vijayāditya. C. P. No. 3 of 1908.

40 Nellore Inscriptions. Ongole Nos. 39 & 40 p. 966, Addanki O. No. 4. Kandukuru Nos. 31 & 32.

41 Ponangy Plates of Gunaga-Vijayāditya C. P. No 3 of 1908, This Kaḍṇyārāja fought by the side of his master Vijayāditya III in the beginning of his reign on the battle field and gave up life for his master in wars with the Bōya chieftains of Nellore. This Kaḍṇyārāja whose proper name is not revealed to us is the father of the king's famous general Paṇḍaranga who completed the task of reducing the insurgent Bōya tribesmen to subjection after his father's death.

42 Ep. Ind. Vol. 9 p. 47. See note 39 ante.

43 Ep. Ind. Vol 5 p. 122. The grant records a reward to Vinayadīśarman a son of Dāmōdaraśarman, and son's son of Tūrkaśarman, for the advice given in the defeat of an enemy named Mangi, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse.

Guṇakē-nalla by his heroic deeds and excellent qualities. In the numerous records of his family his heroic exploits are described in great detail. He is said to have conquered the Nolambas in a fierce battle, 'cut off the head of Mangi, their lord and 'played the game of ball with it';⁴⁴ 'humbled Gaṇḍa-Sankila, the lord of Vaidumbas,' a confederate of the Vallabha king Krishna II.;⁴⁵ 'defeated the king of Dāhalapura' (Chēdi) who appears to be Kōkaḷlādēva, father-in-law of Krishna II.⁴⁶ and lastly Baddiga⁴⁷, an Eastern Chālukya prince who sought refuge at the court of Mānyakhēta. This Baddiga is said to be a descendant of the traitor prince Yuddhamalla, but it is not clear and certain. Vijayāditya III., on another occasion invaded the Rāshtrakūṭa dominions, sacked and burnt their city Mānyakhēta, frightened and drove the 'firebrand' Krishna II. from his city.⁴⁸ It was probably at this period or sometime after the burning of Mānyakhēta that the Vallabha king Krishna II., 'paid great honour to the arms of the Eastern Chālukya king by coming with folded hands', when Vijayāditya III. who was apparently in possession of the Rāshtrakūṭa capital restored it to him.⁴⁹ The humbled Rāshtrakūṭa king, however, in a record of his successors is stated to have occupied the city after the enemies had abandoned it,⁵⁰ but it is highly doubtful.

The indignities heaped by the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya III. recoiled with increased vigour and cruelty on his successors. Soon after the death of Vijayāditya II., Krishna II. invaded Vēṅgimaṇḍala, taking advantage of the youth of the heir-apparent probably; and for four years there was continued warfare in the country.⁵¹ Some of the nobles, too, at this time turned

44 Ep. Ind. vol. 4. p. 226. Ind. Ant. vol. 12 p. 221.

45 A. R. on Ep. 1914 p. 85, & A. R. for 1923 para 20,

46 Ep. Ind. vol. 9 p. 47 ff ll 14-17

47 C. P. Grant of Saktivarman II. No. 15 of 1917.18, (A R for 1918, page 132)

48 Ind. Ant. vol. 12 p. 102

49 Ibid, see also the statement in the Kaluchumbarru grant of Ammaraja II. about this prince 'Guṇaga Vijayaditya, to whose arm great honour was paid by the Vallabha king, (Krishna II) ll 15-16 'Vallabha-nripa samyabhyarchita-bhuja' and v. 10 of the Pithapuram Pillar Inscription of Mallapadeva, Ep. Ind. vol. 6 p. 226

50 Ep. Ind. vol. 7 p. 26, Cambay Plates of Govinda IV. v. 13

Tasmād-akālavārshōnripati-rabbūdyat-parākramatrastaiḥ
sadyah samandālāgram Khetakamahitaiḥ parityaktah||

51 Ind. Ant. vol. XX. p 103. Ep. Ind. vol. 4, p. 226, Note the verse 11 in the inscription which states that Chālukya Bhīma I, was victorious in 860 battles. Even if we take the figure to be hyperbolic it is possible to assume that the king fought for a long period and at last won the throne for himself.

traitors and openly espoused the cause of the invaders.⁵² And this seems to be the chief cause for the delay in the actual coronation of the king Chālukya Bhīma I, the son of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya.⁵³ who appears to have died early in the wars with the Rāshtrakūṭa and their allies. During this period of four years of foreign invasion the country suffered terribly from the horrors and atrocities committed by the rebels and the invaders, who were steadily opposed, fought and defeated in the very neighbourhood of the capital, Vāṅgipura. Two of the most decisive battles of this four years war are known to us from the inscriptions of the king which have become famous in the history of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. These victories were no doubt won at a heavy sacrifice when the traitors and the enemies were furiously pressing against the capital; but it seems certain that after this ignominious defeat the Rāshtrakūṭa king Krishna II. never afterwards during the lifetime of Chālukya Bhīma I. attempted to invade Vāṅgi or cross its borders. During this invasion the Vallabha king seems to have been greatly assisted by the kings of Karnāṭa and Lāṭa, meaning the powers of the south and the north.⁵⁴ It is said in the records of Chālukya Bhīma I. that he had an unnamed son aged sixteen years whose surname was Iṣamartigaṇḍa,⁵⁵ a prince of charming appearance and valour like Abhimanyu, learned and powerful, who died after fighting bravely on the battlefields of Niravadyapura (the modern Niḍadavōlu) and Peru-Vaṅgūru-grāma (Peda Vaṅgūru near Ellore,) killing in the latter from the back of his elephant the Vallabha general, Daṇḍena (Daṇḍanyāka?) Guṇḍaya.⁵⁶ The king laments deeply over the untimely death of his valourous son who had won for him immortal victories, and on the occasion of a solar eclipse that came sometime after gives away two beautiful and fertile villages as *agrahāras* to a number of *brāhmanas* for the merit of his deceased son.⁵⁷ In the wars with the Vallabha commanders and the treacherous nobles Chālukya Bhīma I. was greatly assisted by several powerful brahmin warriors. On the occasion of his coronation, on

52 Unpublished Kasimkōta Plates of Chālukya Bhīma I. (C. P. No. 14 of 1908-9) A. R. on Ep. 1909, p. 106 para 59. From this inscription we gather that in his reign there was perfect peace and that to secure this end the king defeated the combined forces of his enemies, the Rāshtrakūṭas and his own treacherous relatives (*dāyāda*) See also Ind. Ant. Vol. 20 p. 103 where the king is stated to have defeated and crushed the army of Krishna II.

53 The king's coronation took place on Monday, the 2nd tithi of the dark fortnight of the month Chaitra in S. S. 814, corresponding to 17th April, A. D. 892, i.e. roughly four years after the death of Gunaga-Vijayaditya III. in A. D. 888.

54 Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1914, p. 81. (C. P. No. 1 of 1913-14 Masulipatam Plates Chālukya Bhīma I.)

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid.

April 17, 892 A. D. he gave away the village of Kūkiparru in the Uttarakhanderuvāti *vishaya* to Pōtamayya son of Drōṇa Bhaṭṭa of the Kaundinya *gotra*;⁵⁸ and the village of Paṇḍipālla to the brahmin warrior of the Kaundinya *gōtra*, the famous Rangādhi Kakkara, son of Viḍisarman, a *brahmachāri* of the *Vājasaneyā* sect for the great military help rendered by him in crushing the pride of his rebellious nobles and relations.⁵⁹ Chālukya Bhīma I. acquired the title of *Drōhārjuna* for destroying or killing all his (*dāyāda*) relations who had turned traitors to his family and prevented his accession to the throne with the help of the Rāshtrakūṭas.⁶⁰

The death of Chālukya Bhīma I. in the last days of 917 A. D. was again a signal for the Rāshtrakūṭa invasion into Vāṅgi. This time it was Gōvinda IV., son Indra III. and grandson of Kṛishna II. who claimed to have inflicted a defeat on the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya IV. surnamed Kollabhiṅgaṇḍa, as a result of which the latter is said to have lost his life on the field of battle.⁶¹ The battle took place near a town called Virajāpuri which has not been indentified.⁶² It might be a village lying on the borders of the Vāṅgimaṇḍala or in the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom itself. Kollabhiṅgaṇḍa is said to have reigned for six months only and died a glorious death on the battlefield.⁶³ The victory in this battle, however, is claimed by both parties but it seems more probable that the Eastern Chālukyas were victorious for we are told in a later record of the dynasty that Vijayāditya IV. set up a pillar of victory on the field of Virajāpuri.⁶⁴

The sudden death of Kollabhiṅgaṇḍa though after a victorious battle appears to have been followed by really serious disasters at home. Again there was treachery and conspiracy amongst the feudatory-relations of the royal house and nobles of the realm who were followers of the late king.⁶⁵ Encouraged and supported by the hereditary enemies of the family they conspired against the new king and occupied Vāṅgipura during his absence. A desperate attempt seems to have been made then by the conspirators greatly assisted by the Rāshtrakūṭas to prevent the accession of Ammarāja I. the eldest son of Vijayāditya IV. surnamed Viṣṇu-

58 Ep. Ind. vol. 5 p. 128.

59 Andhra Sahitya Parishad Patrika, Paṇḍipaka Plates of Chālukya Bhīma I.

60 Ibid. Attili Plates of Chālukya Bhīma I

61 Ind. Ant. vol. 13, p. 213. Penneru Grant of Saktivarma I.

62 Ibid. Paganavaram Plates of Chālukya Bhīma II.

63 Ibid.

64 See note ante 58.

65 Ind. Ant. vol. 20, p. 266.

vardhana from ascending the throne in his ancestral capital, Vengipura.⁶⁶ There was civil war in consequence, and the treacherous rebels and conspirators succesfully drove out Ammarāja I. from the country.⁶⁷ But it appears that some time after this period of serious disaster that the rebels and conspirators who were defeated burnt and destroyed Vāṅgipura in a spirit of cowardly vengeance. These events took place evidently during the early part of the reign of Ammarāja I., i. e. between 917 and 920 A. D. We have no records of the Rāshtrakūṭas to narrate the events of this period; but we have nevertheless a record of the time of Ammarāja I. which tells us of the events of the reigns of his grandfather and father as well as of his own early days. It is said that Ammarāja I. 'had to use his sword against his feudatory relatives and commanders who had joined the party of his natural adversaries and and win over to himself the subjects and the army of his father and his grandfather,' the meaning of which being that some of the members of his family and his commanders had entered into a conspiracy with the Rāshtrakūṭas in order to prevent him from ascending the throne. Turned out of his ancestral capital and probably out of his country too, king Ammarāja I. had to fight single-handed against his treacherous nobles and disloyal commanders, who had suddenly deserted him on the death of his father.⁶⁸ Probably at this period the so called conspirators supported the weak rival claimant, whoever he might be, to the throne in order that he might be a titular head over them. And the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch, too, had his own axe to grind in this intrigue; for Amoghvarsha I., too, like his father Gōvinda III., would have the nominal king of Vāṅgi as his vassal. But Ammarāja I. like his father and grandfather was too strong a match for the combined strength and diplomacy of the traitors at home and the enemies abroad.⁶⁹ It would appear that the king, at the beginning of his reign, was compelled to remove his residence and government to a safe and distant place and carry on the war against his enemies whom he reduced to subjection in a very short time. It is not, therefore, improbable that the king at this time had founded the new capital and the future residence of his dynasty. And having once established his authority firmly in the country Ammarāja I.

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid.

68 Ibid.

69 Ibid. Cf. the following statement in the Pabhubrru Plates of Saktivaram regarding this king. lines 23-24.

"Tasyā-(Vijayāditya IV.) tmajah (Ammarāja I.) pranata vairo-sirovilagnaratna - dvirēpha parichumbita pādapadmah.

See also Andhra Sāhitya Parishad Patrika, vol. 2, p. 399.

might have abandoned the hope of going back to Vēngipura, and reviving its former glory. The continued wars of the two previous reigns and the extreme danger to which that capital was exposed during the invasions of the Vallabha kings, its vulnerable position on the broad plain country, being devoid of any strategic advantages, all rendered it necessary probably to abandon the old capital Vēngipura, for ever. This is perhaps the third or the fourth occasion for the kings of Vēngi to shift their residence from their ancestral capital in order to effectively carry on their wars against their enemies and to secure peace in the country. It was Jayasimha I. that shifted his *Rājadhāni*, from Pishtapura to Vēngi and then to Sarvasiddhi,⁷⁰ built after his own surname, in the Kalinga *Vishya*. Again king Kōkuli-Vikramāditya Bhaṭṭāraka had for his capital Elamanchi (Ellamanchali),⁷¹ a place not far from Sarvasiddhi; and later still Vijayāditya II. removed his capital to Vijayavāḍa,⁷² the modern town of Bezavāḍa. Chālukya Bhīmavaram, now a small and almost forgotten village, near Samalkot Railway station was once the residence of Chālukya Bhīma I-⁷³ where he built a lofty temple for Īśa under the name of *Kumāra Chālukya Bhīmēśvara*.⁷⁴ But none of these earlier princes ever attempted to abandon Vēngipura after they had once subdued the country and restored peace and order. From the time of Ammaṣāja I. however, matters, took a different turn, and Vēngipura practically ceased to be the capital though its illustrious name still survived in the name of the kingdom, and Vēngi for Vēngimaṇḍala became synonymous with the Andhra country. It does not also appear that Vēngipura ever afterwards regained its former glory and position. It was deserted by its masters; today it is a barren waste of country extending over several miles and comprising three or four villages. Some of its ancient suburbs

70 Pedā-Maddāi Plates of Jayasimha I. Ind. Ant. vol. 13. p. 137 ff. Sarvasiddhi appears to have been built at a time when the Kalinga frontier had to be protected by a strong provincial capital for we know that there were constant wars between the Vishnukundins and their allies the Kalingas and the Vākatakas of Chēdi.

71 C. P. No. 10 of 1908-9. Muñjēru Plates of Kōkila Varma Mahārāja.

72 Vijayāditya's (II) title 'Chālukyārjuna bhūpāla is itself suggestive of the fact; besides he also appears to have shifted his residence during the twelve years war' with the Ikshtrakūta commanders to the banks of the Krishna where already a small town was existing and called it after his own name, making it his capital. The fact that the king's younger brother, Bhīma Salukki turned a traitor and held Vēngi for a pretty long time as a vassal of the Rāshtrakūta king Govinda III. also must have rendered it necessary to found a new capital to carry on the 'Twelve Years War' effectively.

73 Ep. Ind. vol. 4. p. 226, Verse 11.

74 Ibid.

have now become small independent villages, and of them Re (De) ndulūru, Sēnagūdem, Ganganagūdem, China-Vēgi and Peda-Vēgi are worth mentioning. The village of Peda-Vēgi stands on the same site once occupied by the ancient citadel and it is surrounded by a huge earthen wall which appears to have formed part of the ancient fortifications of the inner citadel.

It does not appear that Rājamahēndrapura was immediately founded by king Ammarāja I. The first place which the prince chose for his residence during the time of civil war and rebellion seems to be a place called Hēmagri, (now called Vēmagiri) four miles to the south of Rajahmundry, where he appears to have constructed temporarily a small fort on the top of the hillock. The hill being golden coloured from its appearance from a distance had probably acquired the name of Hēmagiri, (hema = golden, giri = peak). This hill fort seems to have been also abandoned later still when a more suitable and strategic place was discovered on the site of modern Rajahmundry, four miles northwards. The site selected for the construction of the citadel and the capital is indeed a strategic place. It is a piece of elevated ground surrounded by a range of small hillocks on all sides and a swamp beyond and the river Gōdavri on the west. To the south of 'fort' lay the flat hill or a range of hills on the slopes of which the capital was built. To the east and the south of the town lay the vast marshy ground which became inundated during the season when the river was in flood. To the north of citadel lay another range of low hills but greatly separated, and between them lay the swamp on which flowed the surplus river water during the flood season. These low hills are today visible to the north in the direction of north-east and called Sēshayya Metṭa, Luther-giri, Sārangadharuni-konḍa respectively. There is also another hill in the direction of east-north-east of the town, lying between the Śyāmalamba shrine and Danavāyigunṭa, which has not however retained any name. It is on this elevated and yet sufficiently hidden ground, which is protected by hills on all sides from being submerged, by the river during the flood that the beautiful town and historic fortress of Rājamahēndrapura was built.

It was under these peculiar circumstances that Ammarāja I. was forced to think of constructing a new capital and abandon Vēngīpura for ever; and the place which afforded him shelter in troubled times and formed the base of his successful military operations against his enemies during the early part of his reign, soon transformed itself into the proud royal capital of the house of the Eastern Chālukyas as soon as peace and order were restored in the country,

3. FROM THE ACCESSION OF AMMARAJA I.
TO THE END OF THE 'INTERREGNUM', A. D. 917-18—999

The new city was indeed founded at a lucky moment and in a critical period of the history of the Eastern Chālukyas. The history of Vāṅgi has about this period assumed a turn; it is no longer merely the history of the wars between the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Eastern Chālukyas: it is henceforward the story of the attempts of the latter to consolidate their power in the land and influence over the people they loved and protected. Love for Vāṅgi-maṇḍala became more deep than before and Eastern Chālukyas regarded themselves as Āndhras and not Kannaḍigas or foriegners, henceforward.

The unhappy turn of events at Mānyakhāta, on the death of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Indrarāja III., (a grand son of Kṛishṇa II.,) the bloody revolution followed by the capture of the throne by this (Indrarāja III.,) younger son Gōvinda IV., by quietly setting aside Amoghavarsha II.)⁷⁵ his own elder brother and heir-apparent, gave enough liesure to Viṣṇuvardhana Ammarāja I., to devote himself to the construction of the new capital and strengthen his position at home. He removed all the insurgent elements in the kingdom by either putting to sword the unruly and treacherous commanders and feudatory relations or expelling them from the country or winning over them to his side by granting them fiefs liberally, according to the exigencies of time and situation. The internal rebellion and the foreign invasion simulateneously, induced him probably to skilfully purchase the loyalty of the trusted and brave commanders of his father and grand-father like Mahākāla⁷⁶ and Bhaṇḍanāḍitya-Kuntāḍitya⁷⁷ and others by making grants of extensive villages as *agrahūras*. About this time, too, he seems to have won over to his side some of the commanders of his enemies particularly Nōlambas and the Rāshtrakūṭas, and gave them also feudatory holding in his kingdom.⁷⁸ It is by these acts of statesmanship that Ammarāja I. distinguished himself as a great king. During the last days of Ammarāja I. war again seems to have broken out with the Nōlamba king Ayyapa,⁷⁹ and in this war he appears to have lost his life. At the time of his death the king seems to have been quite a young man for he had sons who had barely passed the age of childhood.

⁷⁵ Ind. Ant. vol. 12 p. 247. See Dyn. of the Kan. Dists. p. 419.

⁷⁶ Ep. Ind. vol. 5. p. 132. This general Mahākāla is the son of a foster sister of Ammarāja I.

⁷⁷ South Ind. Ins. vol. 1. No. 36 p. 39.

⁷⁸ A. R. of South Ind. Ep. for 1923-24, p. 98; C. P. No. 3 of 1923-24.

⁷⁹ Ep. Carn. vol. 13 No. 38. and also see A. R. on Ep. for 1911, p. 63

Bêta or Vijayāditya V. and Revolution at the Capital.

Ammarāja I.'s son *Yuvarāja* Beta Vijayāditya V. succeeded to the throne immediately on the death of his father, in A. D. 925. Though he appears to be still a child and not fit to reign and much less able to hold together the disruptive elements in the kingdom, the nobles of the realm declared him king. Hardly the water poured on his head during the *abhishēka* and *pattibandha* ceremonies had dried up, than the young king and his supporters were driven out of the country by Tālārāja and the throne seized.⁸⁰ There were apparently at that time several claimants to the throne as at the time of the 'accession of every king in Vāṅgi. The feudatory nobles and the military commanders paid allegiance, only to a powerful king; and every king that sat on the throne of Vāṅgi in those troubled times had to prove his strength before he could wear the sacred tiara *peṭṭa* on the forehead and the (*kanthika*) necklet on the neck, which were the insignia of royalty. The usurper Tālārāja is the son of Yudhamalla I, the traitor brother of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III., about whom we have heard before. Tālāpa's attempts to crown himself and reign were also unsuccessful for all the remaining forces in the capital sooner than he had expected brought about his downfall. Tālāpa was king only for a month for he was slain by Vikramāditya II.⁸¹ a son of Chālukya Bhima I. and therefore a paternal uncle of Ammarāja I. The dashing manner in which Vikramāditya II made a bid for the throne after the death of Ammarāja I shows that he was probably one of the 'relatives' mentioned by Ammarāja I who prevented his accession with the assistance and through the treachery of his father's trusted commanders and his 'natural enemies'. But even this prince Vikramāditya II. could not maintain himself long on the throne. After an apparently troubled reign of eleven months this prince was defeated and driven out by Bhīma III.⁸² a younger son of Ammarāja I. Bhīmarāja himself could remain on the throne hardly for eight months when he was slain by Tālāpa's son Yuddhamalla II.⁸³

Yudhamalla II. reigned for seven years from A. D. 927 to 934; and his reign is one of the most important periods in the history of Telugu language and literature⁸⁴. And yet it is one of the most troubled periods from another point of view. It marks

⁸⁰ Ind. Ant. vol 13, p, 213, Paganavaram Plates of Chālukya Bhīma II,

⁸¹ Ibid,

⁸² Ibid,

⁸³ Ibid,

⁸⁴ There is an inscription of the time of Yuddhamalla II, in Bezvada which is a landmark in the history of the Telugu language and poetry, Ep Ind, vol, 15 p, 364,

the second stage of the period of bitter struggle for the throne, between the two branches of the Eastern Chālukyas, the junior or the younger and the elder or the senior branch. Yuddhamalla II. belonged to the younger branch 'being a descendant of Yudhamalla I., a younger brother of Vijayāditya III. This phase of the struggle can be seen from the fact that the reign of seven years of Yudhamalla is actually omitted in some of the inscriptions of the next king,⁸⁵ just as the period following the death of Ammarāja II. in A. D. 973 was contemptuously called *interregnum* or the period without a king (*asvāmika*). The reason for the omission of Yuddhamalla's reign is, not far to seek. Chālukya Bhīma II., a half brother of Ammarāja I. expelled Yuddhamalla and seized the throne after a protracted struggle for seven years. The period of Yuddhamalla's reign is practically the period of struggle for the throne by Chālukya Bhīma II. It appears, therefore, that after the death or probably the murder of the youthful king Bhīma (III.) both Yuddhamalla II. and Chālukya Bhīma II. attempted to have the kingdom between themselves, and in the civil war that ensued the former succeeded in driving the latter out of the country and reign peacefully for seven years.⁸⁷ In this attempt to get at the throne, Yuddhamalla II. called in the assistance of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda IV., against his rival. The calling in of the hereditary enemies of the Eastern Chālukyas to his aid rendered Yuddhamalla II. unworthy of his house probably; and this might be one of the chief causes for ignoring his reign altogether in some of the later records of the family. In this civil war, the loyal commanders of Ammarāja I. appear to have stood faithfully by his son, their youthful master Bhīma III. who was the rightful heir against Yuddhamalla II. and after his death supported the cause of Chālukya Bhīma II. We are told in the inscriptions of a later period that the feudatory chiefs and the commanders of the Vallabha king's (Govinda IV.) forces and others apportioned among themselves the Chālukyan territory for seven years,⁸⁸ and that Chālukya Bhīma II. treating with contempt Yuddhamalla II. who had crowned himself king at this juncture expelled the usurpers and reigned for twelve years. It is therefore clear from the above statement that Yuddhamalla II. had actually brought in the Rāshtrakūṭa king and other allies to instal him on the throne of Rājamahēndrapura; but he appears to have had his residence at Vijayavāḍa where he had built a temple for 'god *Kumārasvāmī*', and not at Rājamahēndrapura.

85 Ind. Ant. vol, 13, p, 213, See note 80 above,

86 C. P. No. 1 of 1916-17, Mangallu plates of Ammarāja II.

87 Ibid, lines 19-21,

88 Ibid,

And it is also said that with the help rendered by the Śabara chieftains of the north alone, he could remain safely on the throne.⁸⁹ Yuddhamalla II. was no doubt a strong prince, and yet he required the assistance of all the neighbouring kings to keep him on the throne. Naturally Chālukya Bhīma II. could not tolerate the presence of the 'natural adversaries of his house' in the country and consequently the period of his struggle for the throne which extended over the seven long years of Yuddhamalla's reign might have been occupied by continuous and devastating warfare.

During the last days of Yuddhamalla II.'s reign Chālukya Bhīma II. seems to have successfully attempted at the throne by a *coup de main*. Any peace with Yuddhamalla was certainly humiliating and therefore unthinkable to him. He accordingly swore vengeance against the enemies of his house, and wanted to avenge the death of the innocent boy king Bhīma III., who was cruelly murdered. He therefore collected a large army of trusted men and invaded the country from the north-east, in all probability from the direction of the Kalinga country. At this moment Yuddhamalla II. made a desperate stand by calling to his aid once more the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda IV. and his allies. Among the latter were probably the Nōlamba prince Ayyapadēva, the lord of Nōlambavāḍi in the Mysore country, Eṇeyappa, the king of the Western Gāngas, whose surname was perhaps Rājamayya, Bijja *alias* Dantivarman, the lord of Banavāsi, the ruler of the Chōlas and lastly Dhālaga and Tātabikki whose identity or the territory over which they ruled is not known. Besides these princes Munnīṇṇiva and Rājamārtāṇḍa whose identity is also not known, are mentioned among the enemies of Chālukya Bhīma II. that came to the aid of Yuddhamalla II.⁹⁰ This confederacy of hostile kings was met and defeated in several battles in the vicinity of Vijayavāḍa, the king's capital, and then were successfully pursued into their territories where most of them were slain. These events appear to have occurred in the year 934 A. D. for in the same or in the following year Yuddhamalla II. was slain and Chālukya Bhīma II. crowned himself king. A record of this king Chālukya Bhīma of this period states that he 'rose up to conquer, purifying the eastern region' (Vāṅgimaṇḍala),⁹¹ thereby suggesting that he invaded the country from the east and expelled the dense darkness which was the army of the Rāshtrakūṭas.⁹² The king

89 A. S. R. for 1917 p. 117, para 23 : C. P. No. 1 of 1916—17

90 Ep. Ind. vol. 8 p. 49ff. See also Masulipatam plates of Ammarāja II (C.P. No. 8 of 1908—9)

91 Ep. Ind. vol. 7 p. 177ff. l. 35—38

92 A. S. R. for 1009 p. 108 para 60.

also claims to have slain all the foes that opposed him 'unaided', defeated 'and shattered their armies and their marshalled arrays of elephants.'⁹³ In A. D. 933 king Yuddhamalla II. was overthrown and Chālukya Bhīma II., son of Kollabhiṅga Bhāskara and a half-brother of Ammarāja I. became king. He reigned from A. D. 933 to 945. During this period the country enjoyed considerable peace as the turbulent feudatories and militant relatives were either expelled or subdued.⁹⁴ Yuddhamalla appears to have died on the field and his two sons Bādapa and Tājapa fled to the court of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Krishṇa III.

Unfortunately we know very few events of the time of Chālukya Bhīma. But we learn from the records of his successors that he 'gave encouragement to those who were frightened, protected those who came to his refuge, removed all the troublesome people, justly levied taxes from the lands of his enemies; and gave peace and pleasure to the mass of his own people.' Chālukya Bhīma II. is also called Rāja Bhīma and is said to have surpassed the epic hero of his name in strength and majesty. He died in peace in A. D. 945.

Rāja Bhīma's successor was his younger son Vijayāditya Ammarāja II. surnamed Rājamahāndra, born of queen Lōkamahādēvi, who reigned for twenty five-years. (A. D. 945-970). This prince, we are told, was selected by the people, though only twelve years of age, to be the king by an express wish.⁹⁵ It is indeed curious to see how this young prince was chosen by the nobles of the realm when there was an older son Dānārṇava, born of Anki-mahādēvi.⁹⁶ It is not possible at this distant period to divine into the causes or the reasons that prompted the high noblemen of Vēṅgiṃaḍala to supersede the claims of the eldest born and place the younger one who was still a boy on the throne.⁹⁷ It might be that Lōkamahādēvi was the *agramahīshī* for we find that this Ammarāja II. was anointed as the heir-apparent (*Yuvarāja*) even five years prior to his accession to the throne during the lifetime of his father.⁹⁸ Ammarāja II. though young was a powerful king and he had the entire support of his father's ministers and commanders. Dānārṇava, too, was apparently satisfied with the selection of his father and of the 'entire people': he cheerfully assisted

⁹³ Ep. Ind. vol. 7 p. 177ff

⁹⁴ A.S.R. for 1917, p. 117 (C.P. No. 1 of 1916-17)

⁹⁵ Ind. Ant. vol. 7 p. 15, also C. P. No. 15 of 1917 - 18

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ep. Ind. vol. 7 p. 177ff also see S.I.I. vol. I. No. 37

⁹⁸ Ind. Ant. vol. XX p. 269 at 271 and S.I.I., vol. I. No. 37 v. 8

the young king in the administration of the kingdom. Ammarāja II., like his illustrious grandson that reigned fifty years after him, had ample leisure and peace to devote his time to the development of fine arts, construction of new temples and *satrālayas* and other lofty edifices, following the example of Chālukya Bhīma I. The fort and town of Rājamahēndrapura for which foundations were laid in the reign of Ammarāja I. were probably completed during the early part of this king's reign. The king patronised musicians and poets though we have no works of the latter existing today. He gave them large grants of land and acquired the title 'Kavi-gāyaka-kalpataru'.⁹⁹ The king was a jaina by faith though his father and grandfather were śaivites of the kālāmukha faith. The jaina temples at Bezwada¹⁰⁰ and Attili,¹⁰¹ and probably at Rājamahēndrapura also, built by this king, have long ago disappeared and not a trace of them appears in any of these three places. Like these monuments in stone, even the works of poetic art have been destroyed and Andhra language and literature is poorer to-day for the foolish and religious bigotry of the kings and their courts during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

King Ammarāja II. was also a great patron of the Śaiva faith. This fact is borne out by evidence of the king's gifts to a Śaiva temple at Vijayavāda (Bezwada), known by the name Samastabhuvanāśrya which had been built by Vijayāditya Narēndramṛigarāja II. (A. D. 799—840)¹⁰². It appears that Kālāmukha school of Śaivism had a strong hold on the people of the country in those days and its *Simha Parishads* had seats all over the country in important places like the Panchārāmās (Amarāvati, Bhīmavaram, Kshīrārāma, Kumārārāma and Dākshārāma)¹⁰³. The great Kālāmukha Śaiva teacher contemporaneous with king Ammarāja II. was Vidyēśvara who was also the author of the grant recording the gifts to the Śaiva temple at Bezwada¹⁰⁴. Like his grandfather Chālukya Bhīma I. who was a lover and patron of *gāndharvavidyā* (science and art of Music) that made a gift of two plots of land in Attili Vishaya to his favourite courtesan Challava¹⁰⁵ of the Paṭṭavardhani family, a lady of remarkable musical talent and beauty,

99 Ep. Ind. vol. 5 p. 139ff, 1,19; also Ep. Ind. vol. 7 p. 177 ff

100 A. S. R. for 1909 p. 108 (C. P. No 8 of 1908—9)

101 Ep. Ind. vol. 7 p. 177 ff

102 A. S. R. for 1919 p. 90-91 (C.P. No. 11 of 1914—15)

103 Ibid.

104 Ibid.

105 C. P. No. 14 of 1917—18, Attili Plates of Chālukya Bhīma I

Vijayāditya Ammarāja II., too, was a lover of poetry and fine arts as his title Kavigāyaka-kalpataru denotes.

The king's chief mistress, rather the favourite mistress, was the beautiful maiden Chāmekāmba¹⁰⁶ of the Paṭṭavarddhani lineage, a family that produced successive generations of warriors and loyal officers from the days of Kubja-Vishṇuvarddhana¹⁰⁷ and Vijayāditya III.¹⁰⁸ She was a jaina by faith and it was at her inducement that he gave away the village of Kaluchumbarru to her teacher Arhanandin of Attili. Ammarāja II. is said to be very handsome prince resembling *Kumarasāmin*,¹⁰⁹ he is also said to have been born with a tissue round his neck which resembled the *Kanṭhika*,¹¹⁰ the insignia of heir-apparentship and royalty, and which enhanced his personal beauty considerably. Both Dānārṇava and Ammarāja II. were greatly cultured princes and in their court flourished great poets at this time, like Kavichakravartin and Pōtana-bhaṭṭa who composed magnificent panegyrics of Ammarāja's heroic deeds and exploits that became incorporated later in the several grants of the King.

The reign of this king commenced in peace and prosperity, and continued to be so till A. D. 956. About that year a great war broke out in the northern India between the Pāla kings of Bengal and the kings of Gurjaras and Kanouj on the one hand, and the Rāshtrakūṭas on the other. Ammarāja II. was evidently invited to take part in this war by joining the confederacy of kings that opposed Krishna III. of Mānyakhēta. Krishna III. at that period invaded Chēdi, Vidarbha, Vanga, Kalinga and probably Vāṅgimaṇḍala also. For we have a statement in the inscriptions of Ammarāja II. himself, that in the eleventh year of his reign (A. D. 956) there arose some trouble in the north in the direction of Chēdi and Kalinga or the modern Bastar state which was said to be due to the Rāshtrakūṭa king Krishna III. The king at that moment appointed his half-brother Dānārṇava as regent of the kingdom and

106 Ep. Ind. vol. 7. p. 177ff

107 S. I. I. vol. I. p. 39. No. 36

108 The famous Durgarāja, his descendant Kaḍeyarāja and his (Kaḍeyarāja') son Paṇḍaranga and later his grandson Kaḍeyarāja, Mahākāla and Kuntāditya and his son Bhaṇḍanāditya—all these famous generals of the Eastern Chālukya kings are said to belong to the Paṭṭavardhani family. This family migrated to Vēṅgi along with the first founder of the Eastern Chālukya family, Kubja Vishṇuvardhana. I will soon have occasion to discuss the relations between the Paṭṭavardhani family and the royal house of Vēṅgi and Rājahmahēndrapura, in a separate paper.

109 Ep. Ind. vol. 5, p. 139

110 A. S. R. for 1918 p. 132 (C. P. No. 15 of 1917-18)

himself proceeded towards Kalinga in wrath against Krishna III. (*Krishnakōpāt*).¹¹¹ This war with the Vallabha king might have been also brought about by the sons of Yuddhamalla II. who as we have said, were refugees at the Rāshtrakūṭa capital. The invasion of Vēṅgīmaṇḍala by Krishna III. from the direction of Chedi and Kalinga might be with the intention of placing Bādaparāja, son of Yuddhamalla II. on the throne of Rājamahēndravaram by overthrowing Ammarāja II. But the perfect harmony and good-will that prevailed at this period between the brothers Dānārṇava and Ammarāja II. strengthened the latter position both at home and abroad and the result was the invasion of Krishna III. was successfully repulsed.¹¹²

This young king, for he was barely twenty-two years old, was as fierce and mighty a warrior as easeloving and probably licentious a prince as he appeared to be in the beginning of his reign. For the expedition against the Vallabha king and other enemies was completely successful; and we are told that Ammarāja II. acquired the *biruda* of *Tribhuvanāmkuṣī* by displaying marvellous heroism in the thick of the battle between the elephant forces of the enemies and by killing single handed from the back of his elephant, seven of his enemy's war elephants.¹¹³ In this war the Rāshtrakūṭa king Krishna III. appears to have been killed for we hear of him no longer¹¹⁴. It is not known how long this expedition against Krishna III. lasted. But soon after this, Ammarāja II. returned home and once more took over the administration of the kingdom. From this time forward, the amiable relations between the brothers seem to have been a little ruffled and we do not hear of amity and good feelings any more between them. Dānārṇava was apparently residing at the capital, now and then assisting the king in the affairs of the state. But it appears that this peaceful atmosphere became suddenly changed during the last days of the king and grew incredibly gloomy.¹¹⁵ The glorious reign of an enlightened monarch ended in revolution and bloodshed, treachery and disgrace. The records of the later kings clearly speak that the king's last years were marred by cruel atrocities and cold blooded murders of the members of the royal household by the king and his half brother, and finally resulted the expulsion of the bro-

111 A. S. R. for 1917 page 117 (C. P. No. 1 of 1916—17)

112 *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, page 419 (Bom. Gaz. vol. 2, part 1). There are no records of the king to suggest that he was alive after 956 A. D.

113 A. S. R. for 1918 page 132, (C. P. No. 15 of 1917—18)

114 See note ante 112

115 C. P. No. 8 of 1913—4; A. S. R. for 1914 p, 86

thers from the country.¹¹⁶ Ammarāja's II. father-in-law Nripakāma and his mother-in-law Nāyamamba¹¹⁷ who were held in great esteem at one time by the king and the latter's brother-in-law Bhāskara¹¹⁸ surnamed *Gaṇḍanārīyaṇa* fell out with the king and changed colours. Bhāskara deserted his brother-in-law and joined Bādapa, son of Yuddhamalla II. who was then intriguing with the Rāshtrakūṭa king to gain the kingdom for himself.¹¹⁹ The causes for this sudden desertion of king's own kith and kin during critical times are not, however, known at this distance of time. But Ammarāja II. and his elder brother Dānārṇava, we are told quarrelled for an unknown reason and in the end murdered each others' sons.¹²⁰ Ammarāja had probably estranged his own brother and all the kinsmen on his queen's side. His own relations turned hostile towards him and on the top of all these difficulties, came the unexpected murder of his only son. He could not forget and forgive the deeds of his opponents. He had two enemies to fight, his brother Dānārṇava and his brother-in-law Bhāskara Gaṇḍanārīyaṇa who took up the cause of Bādapa, the rival claimant to the throne. These unfortunate events, we are told took place sometime immediately before the so called *Interregnum*.¹²¹ Whatever might be the justification for the treacherous betrayal of one's own kinsmen, the cruel murder of each other's children has certainly no parallel in the history of any land, ancient or mediaeval. Though no causes for these incidents are available to-day, it is interesting, nevertheless to probe into them. Some of the incidents of this period have at least a strong resemblance to the incidents narrated in the tradition of Sārangadhara. Ammarāja II, like his grandson Rājārāja Narendra in the story had only one son who was cruelly and unwittingly put to death by his own father in a fit of thoughtlessness and jealous rage. Both these kings had the title Rājamahendra and were themselves cultured princes and patrons of great poets. Ammarāja II. had a favourite mistress Chāmekāmba of the Paṭṭavarddhani lineage like Rājārāja Narendra's favourite youthful queen Chitrāṅgi, though we do not yet know whether there was anything like that of that amorous intrigue of Chitrāṅgi in the life of Chāmekāmba. Both the kings, too, became very unpopular at the close of their reigns. Could anything then of the nature of events mentioned in the story of Sārangadhara and Chitrāṅgi have happened in the reign

116 Ibid.

117 Ind. Ant. vol. XII. p. 248

118 Arambaka Plates of Bādapa, Ep. Ind. vol. 19 p. 137 ff

119 Ibid

120 A. S. R. for 1914 p. 85

121 Ibid,

of Vijayāditya Ammarāja II. in Rājamahēndravaram? No one can answer; but why should there be that persistent tradition and a yearly festival near the Mount of Sārangadhara where the country folk assemble and celebrate the glory of the departed prince, who in spite of his innocence suffered cruel punishment at the hands of his foolish father, even to this day in Rājamahēndravaram? Whether our suggestion could be true or not future historians alone can decide.

King Bādaparāja and the so called Interregnum, 973—990 A. D.

The events of the last days of Ammarāja II. partly explain the causes for the successful invasion of Bādapa mahārāja and the expulsion of Ammarāja II. from the country or his death in the struggle that ensued. In the war between the brothers the country became divided and the invader aided by the treachery of the king's brother-in-law, Bhāskara Gaṇḍanāyana could easily seize the throne.¹²² But prince Bādaparāja could not have so easily won the kingdom as he said. In the triangular fight the country soon drifted into anarchy and disorder. There were three parties in the kingdom, that of Ammarāja II., of Dārnava and lastly of Bādaparāja. This civil war appears to have dragged on for three years from A. D. 970 to 973. This period of anarchy or civil war is however assigned to Dārnava in the records of the later kings of the Post-Restoration period,¹²³ which fact seems to suggest that Dārnava was in possession of the capital, Rājamahēndravaram while his brother Ammarāja II. was carrying on war against Bādaparaja elsewhere or more probably dead. But we have a statement in the inscription of Bādaparāja himself that he conquered the kingdom from Ammarāja II. This might be due to Bādapa's never recognising Dārnava as king. If Dārnava fought Bādapa, it was perhaps in the name of his brother, Ammaraja II. Prince Bādapa clearly states in his grant to Gaṇḍanāyana that he conquered the kingdom from Ammarāja II and became king immediately after him.¹²⁴ The last days of Ammarāja II were indeed dark and gloomy; a noble and highly accomplished prince though he was, he had to end his days in disgrace, dethronement, and probably in exile and poverty. Prince Bādapa might be taken to have ascended the throne immediately after the death of Ammaraja II. which appears to have taken place in or about A. D. 973, the year of the commencement of the so called 'Interregnum'. The reign of Bādaparāja is ignored in the inscriptions of the later kings from the

122 Ep. Ind. vol. 19 p. 137 ff

123 Ep. Ind. vol. VI p.

and Ind. Ant. vol. XX p.

124 Ep. Ind. vol. 19, p. 137 ff

time of Śaktivarman I, Though he was on the throne for twenty seven years like any other prince of his house, from A D 973 to 999, his reign has been contemptuously regarded as *interregnum* by his successors for the reason that he belonged to the junior branch of the royal family. Vāṅgimāṇḍala was said to be without a king, literally (asvām ka). To the kings of the Post-Restoration period who were the descendants of the elder branch of the family this period of Bādapa's reign was like *interregnum* and it only means that they did not recognise the sovereignty of the younger branch.¹²⁵ It might be also that they hated the brothers Bādapa and his brother Tālārāja who seized the kingdom and held it though the help of their natural adversaries, the Rāshtrakūṭas.

Prince Bādapa obtained the kingdom according to his own statement through the help of the Vallabha king Karṇarāja.¹²⁶ which name might be a distorted *prakrit* form of Kannararāja, which again is equivalent to sanskrit Krishnarāja. It has not been possible to identify this Rāshtrakuta king Karṇarāja (Krishnarāja) with any known king of the family. At the time of Bādaparāja's accession the reigning Vallbha king was Khoṭṭiga, a step-brother of Krishna III.¹²⁷ This last named prince, we know was an enemy of Ammarāja II, who invaded Vāṅgimāṇḍala in A. D. 956 and lost of his life in that expedition.¹²⁸ We do not therefore know of any other Rāshtrakūṭa prince of the name of Krishnarāja that was contemporaneous with Bādapa. It might therefore be assumed that Bādapa rāja in gratitude for the assistance rendered to him by Krishna III. in the year A. D. 956 and his consequent death on the battlefield fighting for his cause and the friendly relations kept up by his successors on the throne, that he mentioned in his records that he obtained the kingdom through the help rendered by Karṇarāja. The Vallabha king that fought for him might be Khoṭṭiga, surnamed Raṭṭa-kandarpa prince Kakkarāja II.¹²⁹

125 Ibid. See also the remarks of late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao at p.

126 Ibid lines.

127 Dynasty of the Kanare Districts (Bom. Gaz, vol. 2 pt. 1) p.¹ 119 --20

128 See note ante 112

129 See note ante 197

SIMHIPURA COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF KADAMBA KING DHARMAKHEDI

SATYANARAYANA RAJAGURU

Last year (1928) in the month of February, I was informed by one of my relatives about the discovery of the present copper-plate grant of the Mahāmāṇḍalika Dharmakheḍi of Eastern Kadamba Dynasty, a contemporary ruler of Dēvēndravarmān, son of Anantavarman of the Gāṅga family. I was told that two years back this set of plates was discovered from a clay-mine of Sānta-Bomvāli near Tekkali, where two more sets of copper-plate inscriptions were already found. Among those two sets one is the grant of Nandavarman (in the year 221 Ganga-Era)¹ and the other is the grant of Indravarmān (in the year 87 Ganga Era).² They are now preserved with the Rājah of Tekkali. The gold coins that were discovered at the same place are kept by some illiterate people of that locality; hence there is no chance of knowing about the importance of those coins. However, it goes without saying that the vicinity of the said 'clay-mine' bears some historical importance and deserves examination. Within a radius of 3 or 4 miles from this place and its surroundings in a way are situated the following places mentioned in inscriptions. One is Dantāvarukōṭā, which may be identified with Dantapuram of the inscriptions and once the capital of Kalinga. Another is Simhipura, which may be identified with Simhapura, also once a capital of the Kalinga country. A third place is Rāyavalasa, probably Rājapuram, which was mentioned in the Mahābhārata as the residence of the Kalinga kings. All these places are not far from the sea-coast. And both in literature and inscriptions the capital of Kalinga is described as being so near the sea that it was visible from the windows of the king's palace. We may assume that some importance can be attached to this place, as a number of copper-plate grants, gold coins and old bricks are found here. I am therefore strongly inclined to assume that in the time of the Ganga kings of Kalinga a famous town flourished here. The field where the copper plates are discovered lies near the village of Sānta Bomvāli, covering a portion of land of about five square miles, apparently bearing a gloomy appearance of a

1 See J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II p. 3 pp. 185—189

2 Utkala Sahitya Parishat Patrika of Cuttack Vol. XXXI p. 11 pp. 450

dilapidated and ancient fort or town, once thickly populated. Hence a trial as to the identity of this 'clay-mine' may not be futile for research scholars.

The present set contains three copper plates of which the third plate is entirely left blank. On the first side of the first plate the letter 'Śī' only is inscribed. The other sides of the first and the second plates contain each nine lines of subject matter, and the grant contains 27 lines in all. Each plate measures $6\frac{1}{3}'' \times 3\frac{1}{3}'' \times \frac{1}{8}''$. The ring holding the plates together is about $\frac{1}{2}''$ thick and $11\frac{1}{2}''$ in circumference. The two ends of the ring are soldered into the back of a circular seal which is now broken; and so the family-emblem of the King is not visible. I was told that the man who kept the plates hammered the seal in order to remove the plates from the ring; and in consequence the emblem was broken to pieces. However, the present height of the seal from the ring is about $\frac{1}{8}''$ and its circumference is $2\frac{1}{8}''$.

The Script employed belongs to the 'Kuṭila' type and the characters are exactly like those found in the Copper-plates and stone inscriptions of Eastern Kalinga (i.e. Modern Orissa) used from the 10th to the 12th century A. D. Palæographically we may trace the plates to the 12th century A. D. There is a similarity between the characters employed in the Kudapalli inscription of Mahābhavagupta II., Ratnapur inscription of Jājalladēva and our present Simhipur inscription of Dharmmakhēdi. In the Hasrakol inscription of Purushōttama Dēva of Orissa, the script that is adopted is merely a later development of the script of the above mentioned inscription. The letters *ka, kha, ga, cha, chha, ja, ṭa, ṭha, dha, ṇa, tha, da, pa, ya, la, śa, sha*, and *ha* are similar to the present Oriya letters, used in this part of the country.

On orthographical grounds the following points are noteworthy:-

- (a) There is a slight difference between 'ba,' 'pa' and 'ya' (ll. 7, 8).
- (b) There is no distinction between 'na' and 'va' (ll. 11, 12, 13, 14).
- (c) Instead of 'mva' 'nva' is used in the line 14.
- (d) Instead of 'Mahārājā' 'Māhārājā' and instead of 'Malānandālika' 'Mahāmānandālika' is used (ll. 11 & 15)
- (e) In many places the distinction of 'Sa' 'śa' and 'Sha' is not observed (l. 10, 13, 14, 15, 20, 22)
- (f) There is a slight difference between 'ga' 'na' and 'śa' (l. 23, 24)

The language is Sanskrit throughout and the inscription is written in prose only. The usual *ślōkas* from the Mānava Dharmma

Śāstra are not quoted in this inscription though they are found in almost all the inscriptions of Hindu kings, discovered in our country. Moreover, the names of the engraver and the minister who carried out the grant are not stated. Hence I think the third plate which is entirely left blank was intended for some more lines to be engraved upon it. Probably the negligence of the engraver or some unavoidable circumstance caused the elimination of the last portion of the inscription.

In the eleventh line of the inscription the names of the Gāṅga kings are mentioned as Ananta Brahma and, Dēvēndra Brahma. The words 'Varma' and 'Varman' are connected with the names of the Gāṅga kings mentioned in all the records published hitherto and therefore the use of the word 'Brahma' here sounds peculiar. In the MS. records of Orissa we meet with the word 'Brahma' in connection with the names of Gāṅga rulers. The name 'Brahma-Chudanga' in some *Gāṅga Vamāvalis* is also in point. Traditionally it is acknowledged that the Ganga family is descended from a Brahmin lady, who was a devotee of Mother Ganges. But I do not know how far the folk lore is true, and how far the use of the word 'Brahma' is connected with this tradition.

The word '*Pancha-pātra*' mentioned in the 17th line of this inscription is interesting. Mr. G. Ramadas interprets that *Pancha-Pātra* was a *Vishaya* (District) of Mandasa Zamindāri.³ But from the present inscription we clearly know that '*Pancha-Pātra*' is referred to five 'Pātras', i. e., the five ministers of the country. The title 'Pātra' is still in use in Orissa and Ganjam among the Oriya people; and still the Oriya Rajahs use the title 'Pātra' to their Dewans. *Pancha-Pātra* therefore means here the 'five' executive officers or ministers. From this we learn to some extent about the then administrative machinery of this country. Under Mahārājas were *Pancha-Vishaya-Patis* (i. e., governors of five districts), and under each '*Pancha-Vishaya-Pati* five 'Pātras' (*Pancha-Pātras*) were supervising the affairs of the country. Hence it is clear that the country was divided into several provinces and districts, where the representatives of the king were looking after the government.

The word '*Dhāḍa*' used in the 26th line of the inscription is also interesting. In Oriya vocabularies there is a word '*Dhōḷa*', which gives the meaning, a drum. According to the rule of Philology there is interchange between the letters 'ḍa' 'ra' and 'la',

and I think the word '*Phaḍa*' changed into '*Phala*' and that consequently is pronounced as '*Dhāḷa*' in Oriya language. In the other plates of Kadamba kings also, some Oriya words are freely used.

From this copper-plate inscription we find the following names of places:—

<i>Villages or Towns</i>	<i>Districts</i>
1 Jayantipura	1 Mahēndra Bhōga Vishaya
2 Dharmmapura	2 Rāshṭrakūṭa Vishaya
3 Salabaṇa-Dadapura	

Mythologically the present Mukhalingam of Parlakimedi Taluk is called '*Jayanti-kshētra*'. But I think, this Jayantikshētra is not the same Jayantipura, mentioned in this inscription for several reasons. Firstly Jayantipura was in *Mahēndra Bhōga Vishaya* which was near Mandasa Zamindāri, and secondly Jayantipura was the capital of Kadamba kings, while the present Mukhalingam was the capital of the Gānga kings. As such it cannot be identified with the Jayantipura of Dharmmakhēḍi. There is one big village called Jayantipura near the Bārua Railway Station in the Ganjam District, and near this village there are some old temples where images of gods are found. Moreover, this village is very near to the Mahēndragiri. Hence it can be safely said that this village Jayantipura was the Jayantipura of this inscription.

According to this inscription (line 18) we learn that Rāṭhakūṭa (Rāshṭrakūṭa) was a district of Kalinga. As the King promulgated this grant before all the 300 villagers of the district of 'Mahēndra Bhōga' and the Rāshṭrakūṭa (i. e., the chief of Rāshṭrakūṭa), we may suppose that 'Rāshṭrakūṭa' and 'Mahēndra Bhōga' were the neighbouring districts. In the Phulasāra C. P. grant of Kīrttirāja Dēva (See Vol. II, Part I p. 30) also the place 'Rāshṭrakūṭa' is mentioned. I think, Rāshṭrakūṭa *Vishaya* of Kalinga was located in the borderland of two kingdoms. The word 'Triakūṭa' means the place where three villages meet, and this word is frequently used in the copper-plate grants of Gānga Kings of Kalinga. So also the word 'Rāshṭrakūṭa' may be referred to the place where two 'Rāshṭras' (i. e., kingdoms) meet. On the above analogy we can infer that two kingdoms met at Mahēndragiri of Ganjam in the time of Rāja Dharmmakhēḍi. But definitely we do not know what those kingdoms were. However I think that one of the two was the kingdom of 'Kongāḍa', which was then ruled by the Śailōdbhava Kings of Orissa and which extended from Khorda up to Mahēndragiri. And the other kingdom is Kalinga, which extended to the south from Mahēndragiri. And probably the district of Rāshṭrakūṭa which

is mentioned in this inscription was situated near Mahēndragiri of Ganjam, separating the two kingdoms of Kongada and Kalinga.

The village of Dharmmapura granted to two brothers was in the district of Mahēndra Bhōga, where Dharmakhedi was then governor (because he declares himself as the Mahēndrādhīpati., i.e., the Lord of Mahēndra). There is one village in the present Dhārākōṭa Zamindari (in Aska Taluk) known as Dharmmarājapūr Dhārākōṭa is an ancient Zamindari adjoining Buguḍa on the north and Gumscor on the east. It was originally a part of 'Khēdi-Singi' that was divided into many estates later on. I think the 'Khēdi-Singi' estate was originally ruled by the 'Khēdi' kings (Kadambas) and afterwards the 'Singis' (another family) came and usurped the throne. However the present Dharmmarājapur of Dhārākōṭa Zamindari can be identified as the Dharmmapura of our Simhipura inscription of Dharmmakhēdi. The other place known as Śālivaṇa-Dadapura from which the Brahmans came, is not identifiable,

Two portions of the village Dharmmapura were granted to the two brothers (probably cousins) of whome one was Dādānāyaka, son of Dudurāvalakam and the other was Chāmaṇḍakam, son of Sābu Nāyaka. They belonged to the Vatsa Gōtra. The names are very unlike the names obtained in this part of the country. And since according to the following verse from Rāmāyaṇa there is a place known as Śālivaṇa to the west of Ayōdhya, and between it and 'Kalinganagara' (?), a place within one day's rapid march from Ayōdhya, we may infer that the Brahmans of this inscription came from that place,

"Vyapāyat Rāghavas-tūrṇam tīrtvāsoṇam Mahānadīm
Kalinga nagarēchāpi prāpya Śalavanam tadā.
Bharata Kshipramāgachhat supariśrānta vāhanah" 4

There are 6 copper-plate grants discovered in this part of the country in which the names of 'Khēdi' kings (Kadambas) of Kalinga are mentioned. The peculiarity is that in every inscription the names of the contemporary Ganga rulers are stated. For clearness of reference, I append the names from the available records, below:—

<i>Gangas.</i>	<i>Kadambas.</i>	<i>Date.</i>
Indravarmman (Vishamagiri C. P. grant) ⁵	Nāgakhēdi...	?
Vajrahasta (Parlakimedi C. P. grant) ⁶	Ugrakhēdi or Rāṇaka Śrī Udayakhēdi	?

4 See Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 71 Sarga

5 See C. P. No. 9 of 1917—18

6 Ep. Ind. vol. III pp 220

		Bhīmakhēḍi	
Vajrahasta (Mandasa C.P. grant) ⁷		Dharmmakhēḍi	A.D. 1054 ?
Anantavarma— Dēvēndravarma	(Vizag C.P. grant) ⁸	Dharmmakhēḍi	254 Ganga era
Anantavarma Dēvēndravarma	(Simhapur C.P. grant) ⁹	N.yārṇṇava Bhīmakhēḍi Dharmmakhēḍi	520 Ganga- Kadamba-era
Dēvēndravarma	(Kambakāya , C.P. grant) ¹⁰	Dharmmakhēḍi Udayāditya	103 Śaka-era

From the above mentioned records we see that the first two are not dated, whereas the others are dated in different styles, and in all of them the name of Dharmmakhēḍi of Kadamba dynasty is found. In three dated records the name Dēvēndravarma is mentioned. But we are not able to know whether the Dharmmakhēḍi and Dēvēndravarma in all the dated records are one and the same or different persons. But the dates given in those plates are not common. Hence there is a great confusion in the matter. If the Dharmmakhēḍi of the Vizagapatam inscription who was the maternal uncle of Dēvēndravarma is the donor of the present Simhipura grant, then we may come to the conclusion that the 'Ganga-era' and the 'Ganga-Kadamba-era' are quite different from one another. And accordingly the 254th year of the 'Ganga-era' must fall in the 520th year of the 'Ganga-Kadamba-era' and 1103 of the 'Śaka-era'. So the 'Ganga-era' must have begun in 927 A.D. But this is opposed to the conclusions derived by scholars hitherto.

But there are not sufficient grounds to identify the Dharmmakhēḍi of the Vizagapatam copper-plate grant with the donor of the present grant. There is also the difficulty in the identification of Dēvēndravarma. The Kambakāya grant of Udayāditya, son of Dharmmakhēḍi may be of some help in this identification of Dēvēndravarma. That the Anantavarma-Dēvēndravarma of Kambakāya grant and the present grant as also the Dharmmakhēḍi of both the grants are one and the same can be safely inferred from the commonness of the *Birudus* (titles) of

7 C. P. No. 12 of 1917—18 The inconsistency of the dates I shall discuss in a separate paper.

8 Ind. Ant. vol. XVIII, pp. 145

9 The present C. P. grant

10 The 'Bharati' 7th Nov. 1927 pp. 115—30

Dāvēndravarma and the similarity of the styles of composition in both.

The Kambakāya inscription of Udayāditya is dated 1181 A. D., in the time of Dēvēndravarma while Dharmmakhēḍi, the father of Udayāditya was the ruler in the year 520 of the 'Ganga era'. We know from the copper-plate inscription of Kamarnava,¹¹ son of Anantavarma, that he was the Ganga king in the year 526 of the 'Ganga-era'. Dēvēndravarma's rule must have ended before 526 and the year 1181 A. D. must fall somewhere between 520 and 526 of the 'Ganga-era'. From this we will have to infer that the beginnings of the 'Ganga-era' were about the period 655—661 A. D.

In coming to the above conclusion I have taken 520 of the 'Ganga-Kadamba-Era', mentioned in the present plate as equivalent to the year 520 of the 'Ganga-Era'. The following considerations lead me to the above conclusion. The Khēḍi kings (Kadambas) were feudatories of the Ganga kings as can be seen from all the known records. And we also know that the Eras used in all the known copper-plate and stone-inscriptions of the Kalinga country were only the Śālivāhana Śaka and the Ganga-Eras. No other era is as yet known. It is highly improbable then to suppose that the Khēḍi kings, the feudatories of the Kalinga-Ganga-Kings could use an era of their own, and that the Ganga-kings could tolerate such a thing. We also know that certain scholars hold that the Śālivāhana Śaka era is the era of the Śaka sovereigns adopted by the people of Mālava when that country came under their rule. We might also suppose that the era used by the Khēḍi Kings is only 'the 'Ganga-Era', the Era of their sovereigns. Then it has to be explained why the year 520 is called the 'Ganga-Kadamba-Samvatsara' and not merely 'Ganga-Samvatsara'. I would like to suggest that the word 'Kadamba' added here merely states that the Khēḍi kings whose grant it is belong to the family of kings known as 'Kadambas'. We know that this family was ruling over a portion of the Kanarese country, in the south. Another branch was ruling in the north or in the Central Provinces. The addition of the word 'Kadamba' indicates the relationship of this family to the other families. In all probability there might have been an attempt to unite all the Kadamba families into one. I have therefore every reason to suppose that the Khēḍi kings (Kadambas)

11 C. P. No. 5 of 1918—19 (This Kāmarnava might be the brother of Dēvēndravarma)

used the 'Ganga-Era' only and that there is no separate era known as the 'Ganga-Kadamba-Era.' Hence it is that the present subjoined C. P. grant is of importance in settling the origin of the 'Ganga-Era' of Kalinga. As I have already stated it might be between the years 655-661 A. D.

Like that of the Ganga dynasty the origin of the Kadamba line also is not traceable. But we find that the Gangas were closely connected with the Kadambas. In Banavasi or Vijayantipura in South India, Kadambas were ruling under the Gangas of the 96 Thousand Gangāvādi. In Kalinga we find that Kadambas were ruling in some 'Maṇḍalas' (Districts) under the Ganga kings. And in the Central Provinces (ancient Utkal) even now we find the existence of both Kadambas and Gangas. The present royal families of Bōṇai (C. P.) Pōḍāhāṭa in Singhbhum District are known as Kadambas. But the family emblems of those kings are different from each other. In Kalinga, *Matsya* (fish), in Rōḍāhāṭa and Bōṇai, *Hamsa* (Swan) are the family emblems. From the chronology of Bōṇai Rajfamily we learn that they came from 'Chitrakūṭa' near the Vindhya mountain, and that they were once supported by the saint Vasistha. Hence the Kadambas of Orissa might have originally come from Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala. The tradition which prevails in this part of the country reveals that the progenitor of this family was sheltered by a peacock under the shade of a *kadamba* tree. Hence the Bōṇai family bears the emblem of peacock and regards the *kadamba* tree as sacred as their '*Iṣṭa-Dēvatā*.' The Kadambas of Banāvasi belong to the *Mānavasya Gōtra* and they were called '*Hārīti putras*', and they were worshippers of the god Madhukēśava. In Kalinga, too, we find the image of Madhukēśvara at Mukhalingam. But there only Ganga kings ruled, whose family god was Gōkarṇasvāmī, established on the Mahēndragiri. Hence the Madhukēśvara of Mukhalingam could not have been brought to Kalinga from Banāvāsī as was supposed by some scholars hitherto.

TEXT.

FIRST PLATE, SECOND SIDE.

- 1 Ōm! Svasti ! amarapurānukāriṇa sarvēvyah¹ sukharamaniya-
- 2 t sudhādhavala prāshāda² malā biratalalita lāsyaṭ durdaṇḍa pa
- 3 ndita sakalālamkṛt³ ŚrīKalinganagarādhi vāsakā Mahendrācha
- 4 lāmala kanakaśikhara³ pratishṭhitasya śacharāchara gurō-sak
- 5 la bhuvananirmmaṇaika sutra⁴ śasānka chūḍāmaṇerā=bhaga

1 Read 'sarvebhyah'

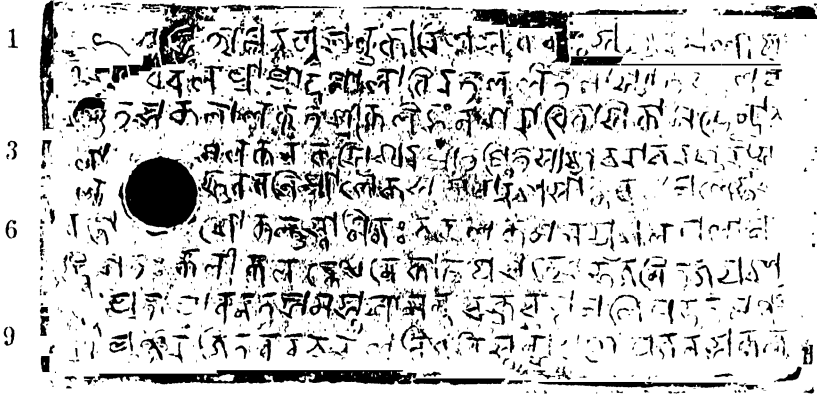
3 Read 'Śikharah'

2 Read 'prasāda'

4 Read 'sūtrad hārasya'

- 6 vatō Gōkanna 1 svāminali charaṇa kamala yugala pranāmō²
- 7 dvigataḥ Kali 3 kalamkō nekāhava samkshōbha janita jaya śa
- 8 bda pratāpāvanata samasta sāmanta chakra chūdāmaṇe prabha
- ta 4 mañj-
- 9 rī puñja ramj.ta baracharaṇa nija nistr̥ṇsa dhāropajara⁵ sakala

FIRST PLATE, SECOND SIDE.

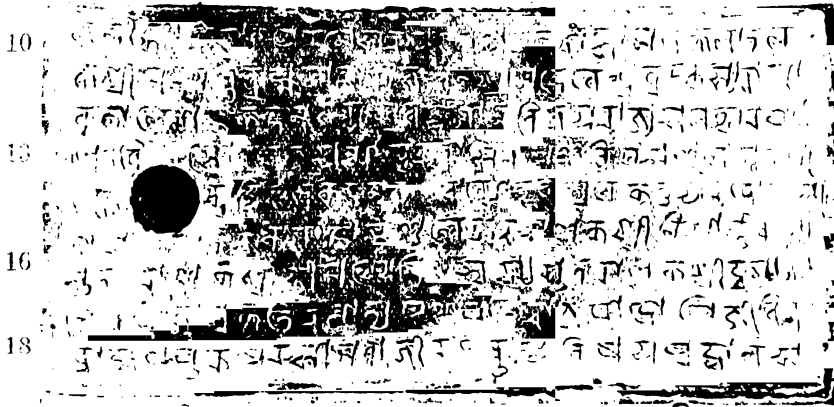


SECOND PLATE, FIRST SIDE.

- 10 Kalingāddhi⁵ raja pramēsvara⁷ parama ṭaraka⁸ Gangāmala
- kula tila-
- 11 ka Śrīmad-Ananta brahma mahārāja suta Śrīma-Dēvēndra⁹
- brahma rajyā-
- 12 ba kulē Gangā-Kadamba Vamśa pravardhamāna vijayarājya
- samatsara¹⁰ pañcha-
- 13 śata visōtare¹¹ Jayantyā pura bāsina pañcha visa¹² maṇḍa-
- lēsvara¹³ Śrī
- 14 Mahēndrādhipati¹⁴ Kadamba kula vamśōdbhava-anēna tūrja-
- ravotrāsī
- 15 tārūti¹⁵ Chakra mahāmaṇḍalēsvara¹⁶ Rāṇaka Śrī Niyārṇavasya
- 16 sutaḥ Rāṇaka Śrī Bhīma Khēḍiḥ asya suta Rāṇaka Śrī
- Dharmma khē-
- 17 ḍi pūcāgrā prakṛti-ramātya pañchapātra rājapādōpa jīvinah
- 18 Brūhmaṇa pursha(va)ra sāmabājī Rāṭhakūṭa¹⁷ vishaya
- praddhānasya

- | | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| 1 Read 'Gōkaranna' | 2 Read 'Parnāmāt' | 3 Read 'Kali' |
| 'Prabha' | 5 „ 'Dhārōpārjita' | 6 „ 'Kalingālbirāja' |
| 7 „ 'Paramēsvara' | 8 „ 'Paramabhaṭṭāraka' | 9 „ 'Śrīmaddēvēndra' |
| 10 „ 'Samvatsara' | 11 „ 'Vimsōttarō' | 12 „ 'Vishaya' |
| 13 „ 'maṇḍalēsvara' | 14 „ 'Mahēndrādhipati' | 15 „ 'trāsītārāt.' |
| 16 „ 'Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara' | 17 „ 'Rāshtrakūta' | |

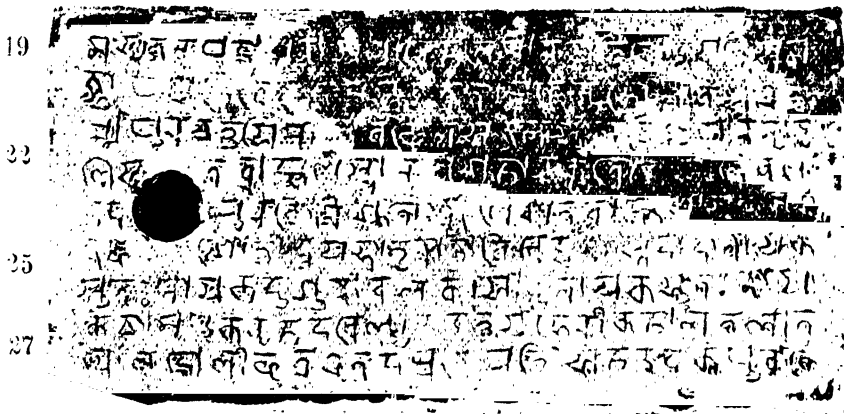
SECOND PLATE, FIRST SIDE.



SECOND PLATE, SECOND SIDE.

- 19 samastajanapadā¹ liām yathā² rihati³ māyayati⁴ bōddhayati⁵ samā
 20 jāpayati⁶ viditamastu bhavatām Mahendra bhōga visaye⁷ ddha
 21 rmmapura⁸ chatusimā⁹ abuc¹⁰ hinna⁷ sajala¹¹ thata vitapā-ranya tr
 22 ni sata⁸ Brāhmaṇa sthāna agrahāra kṛtōham Sālī vana-
 23 dadapura visargatau iriṇi Sata Brāhmaṇāya pramukha
 24 bachha⁹ gōtri dvaya bhrātṛ nana biveddam nāsti (?) Dādānāyaka
 25 sutah nāyaka Dudurāvalakam Sābunāyaka sutah Nāya-
 26 ka Chāmaṇḍakam brhāda bentī dhada tūrya bhēri kāhāla talita
 27 mvola¹⁰ dōli chhatra ētada pratipattim¹¹ saha udaka pūrvakā

SECOND PLATE; SECOND SIDE.



- | | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 Read 'yathāriti' | 2 Read 'bōddhayati' | 3 Read 'Samājāpayati' |
| 4 " 'Vishayē' | 5 " 'Dharmmapura' | 6 " 'Chatussimā' |
| 7 " 'avachhinna' | 8 " 'sata' | 9 " 'Vatsa' |
| 10 " 'Tāmvala' | 11 " 'Prati pattim' | |

TWO UNASSIGNED COINS OF BALPUR

LOCAN PRASAD PANDEYA SARMA

Bālpur is a little village on the left bank of the Mahānadi in the present Bilāspur District of the Central Provinces. It must have been a place of importance in the Mahākōsala country as the discoveries of copper and gold coins of different dynasties of kings and of the Buddhist period there go to show. The sacred soil of Bālpur is not only *śrīma-maya* (full of gold-dust) but also *mudra-maya*, (full of antiquated coins.)

Sometime ago I described the find of the copper coins of a hitherto unknown king of the Haihaya dynasty, namely Pratāpa Mallappa Dēva who flourished about the 12th century A. D. In this note I describe two unique coins discovered at Bālpur, one of silver and the other of gold.

1 SILVER COIN. This appears to be quite new. Its colour appears like that of gold. It was put into fire for test and found to be not gold. My friend Pandit Rām Nārāyan Miśra, M. Sc., helped me to find out its specific gravity and discovered during the course of his test that it was not made of gold. I found some letters engraved on one side of it. The letter 'sa' is quite distinct. Below the letter is the figure which looks like a lion. The coin belongs to the 9th or 10th century A. D., to the *Kēsari* line of Kings of Kōsala and Orissa. On one of the big pillars at Abdar, a big village containing the ruins of a famous antiquated shrine, which is within 30 miles in the north-westerly direction from Bālpur, there is a short inscription in big bold letters resembling those on the coin, which reads, beginning with the word.

'Sri Kēsari'.

On the strength of this, I take the two letters on the coin to be 'sa' and 'ra' as parts of the full name, *Śrī Kēsari*. The first two letters *Śrī* and *Kē* find no place on the coin, owing probably to its small size. I sent lac impressions of the coin to the Curators of the Lucknow and the Nagpur Museums informing them of my identification of the coin as a *Kēsari* coin. Rai Saheb Prayāg Dayal, Curator of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, U. P. was kind enough to write to me as follows.

'I have examined it much pleasure the estampage of a coin which you attribute to Kēsari dynasty. I am afraid unless and until we give a wide latitude to our imagination we cannot on the appearance of only slight traces of a letter or mark come to any definite conclusion. Until we come across some other like-coins I cannot get at the correct identification.' (16—10—1925.)

The other side of the coin has straight lines with a dot in the middle. This may be suggestive of the river Mahāradī on whose bank Śrīpūr, Sharābhpūr and Vinitāpur the capitals of the *Kēsari* Kings were situated.

2 GOLD COIN This coin was found by two Sojghara (gold-dust washer) women one evening in the month of October, in 1927 on the bank of the Mahāradī while washing earth and sand, a few hundred yards from my residence. The coin weight 4 *ratīs*. It is a round little piece of pure gold bearing carvings on both sides. I reproduce both of its sides from a photograph obtained through the kind courtesy of a famous scholar and an epigraphist for the examination and identification by experts. Lac impressions and paper rubbings were sent several Museums in India but in none of them a specimen of its type was reported to exist.

Silver Coin discovered at Bālpur on 2—8—25.

Obverse



Reverse



Size double the original.

Gold coin discovered at Bālpur on 22—10—27

Obverse



Reverse



Size double the original.

Plate to accompany the Text of the Inscription on page 63 above.



Size reduced to one-fourth of the original.

MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF INDRAVARMA DEVA*

R. SUBBARAO, M. A., L. T.

1. *History of the Plates.* It is a set of three plates which was acquired by the Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras. The plates were noticed in the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for 1917-18, pages 139 and 140. On my request, the Superintendent was good enough to supply me with a set of impressions of the plates for publication in this Journal.

The plates are three in number and oblong in shape with well formed rims. They measure 7" by 3½" nearly and are hung by a ring, the ends of which are soldered into a circular seal, about one inch in diameter. On the counter sunk surface of the seal are cut in relief an indistinct figure of a seated bull and a crescent. There is no legend on the seal. The first and the third plates do not contain any writing on their outer sides which serve as covers merely.

The second side of the first plate contains nine lines. The first side of the second plate also contains nine lines, though the second side contains only eight. The first side of the third plate contains again nine lines. Thus, the grant contains in all thirty-five lines of matter.

2. *Alphabet and Language.* The plates are written in "mixed alphabet", containing the northern and the southern characters, which, according to Bühler, are said to belong to the 9th century A. D. But, for better reasons, they can be assigned to the 11th or even 12th century A. D. The Ganjam plates of Pṛthvivarmadeva, son of Mahēndravarmadeva were published in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV., No. 26; and in editing the same, the writer stated that they were written in *Māgadhi* characters. They were also found in the Ganjam district and the alphabet was said to belong to 12th century A. D. The characters are old *Nāgari* as in the present subjoined plates. The language of those plates like the language of our plates is Sanskrit. The donor of those plates is *Mahārāja* Pṛthvivarmadeva, son of Mahēndravarmadeva, worshipper of *Mahēśvara*, ornament of the Gāṅga race, lord of Kōlāhalapura, who, by worshipping *Gōkarnēśvara*, Lord of Mahēndra, acquired all Kalinga. From Svētaka, he granted

* A Paper read before the General Body meeting of the Society held on 7-4-1929

an *agrahāra* in Janvōra-Vishaya on Samkrānti day to a Brahmin named Subhankara of Kāsyapa gōtra. The donor of the present plates also gave the grant from Svētaka.

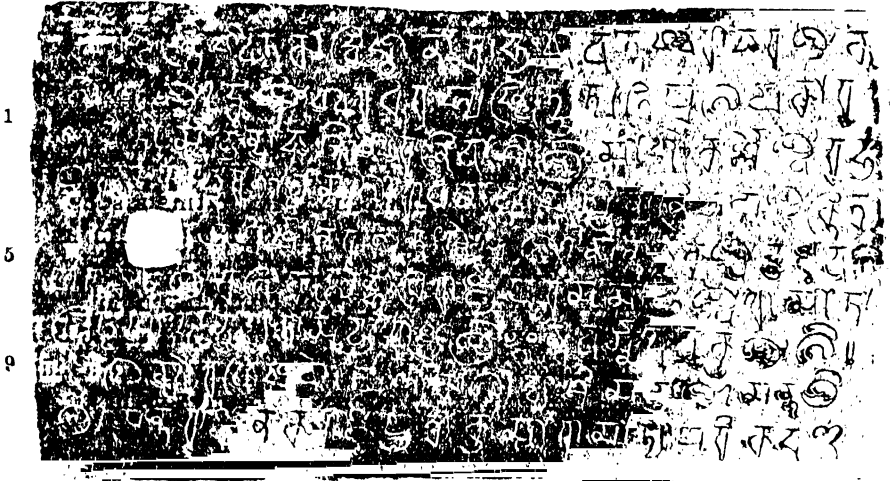
3. *Subject matter of the plates.* The grant was made from the King's residence at Svētaka. It would appear from the *Sthala-purāṇa* that the region round about Srī-Kūrmam was called *Svētaka-Pushkaraṇi*; and probably the donor had his capital at Srī-Kūrmam. The king was a worshipper of *Mahēndrāchala-Gōkarṇēśvara*. He possessed the *Sakala Kalingādhirājyam*. He was a *Parama-mahēśvara* and *Mātāpitṛpādānudyūta* (worshipper of the feet of parents). He is called *Mahārāja Śrī Indravarma Dēva*. The subject matter shows that he belonged to a dynasty altogether different from the Gangas. The King addresses the several officials of the *Jalamvōra-vishaya* (District) in *Kalingadēśa* and grants the village of *Amērasinga* belonging to the *Jalamvōra-vishaya*. This *Jalamvōra* is identified with *Jalmūru* near *Urlam*, *Ganjam District*. The limits of the village granted are carefully defined. The grant was made to a Brahman Scholar, *Chandasvāmin* of *Vajasanēya* school, *Kūnva* branch and *Jātukarna* gōtra, for the merit of his parents and himself. The usual *Vyāsa ślōkas*, urging that the grant should not be molested but protected, follow. And then the name of the *ājñapti* or the executor of the grant is mentioned as *Śrī Nāga Khādī*. The writer is said to be *Ādityavarma* and the grant was published by *Chandapāka*, the *Sandhinigrahin* (Foreign Secretary).

4. *Importance of the Grant.* The grant mentions a new line of kings who have for their title 'Dēva' and who probably ruled over a part of *Kalinga*, subject to the authority of the Later *Gāngas*, when the latter removed their capital to *Cuttack*. The grant mentions (vide lines 8 to 11) the several officials of the times showing that the administration was highly organised. Thus, *Mahāsūmanta* (the Great feudal lord), *Sūmanta* (Feudal lord), *Rājanaka* (King's cousin,) *Rajaputra* (King's Son), *Kumara* (Yuvaraja), *Amātya* (Minister), *Aparikā* (Body-guard), *Dandānāyaka* (Commander-in-chief), *Vishayapati* (Head of the District) *Grāma-pati* (Head of the village), *Brahma Purō Grāmani* (Head of the *Brāhma Pura* *Grāma* or *Berhampur*?) *Aksha-chāṭa* (Keeper of the records?), *Bhaṭa* (Soldier), *Dandapāsa bala*, (Captain of the forces), and other officials of the kingdom are mentioned in the grant. It was with their knowledge that the grant was made. Similar lists of officials are found in the plates of *Dandimahādēvi*, who ruled over *Kongōḍa* (*Ganjam* and *Puri Districts*) in the 12th century. It would appear that it was a necessary formality to appraise all these officials, while making land grants to *Temples* or *Brahmins*,

TEXT.*

FIRST PLATE; SECOND SIDE.

1. Om! Svasti Śveta-kāddhishṭhānūtra Bhagavattaccharācchara śaka
2. la shaśāka śekharavarasya sthityutpati pralayakāra
3. ṇahē'or Mmahēndrācha(la) śikharanivāsi Śrīmam Gōkarṇēsvara Bha
4. ṭṭārakasya charaṇa kamalārādhanaṅvāptapunyanichaya śakti tra
5. ya prabhānuranjitāśeshasāmāntachakra svabhujabala
6. parākṛānta śakala Kalingādhirajyē Paramamāhēsvarō Māā
7. pitru pādānudhyātō Mahārājō Śrī Indravarmmadēva kuśalī
8. Jalamvōra vishayē yadhākālādhyāsi Mahāsāmānta Śrī-
9. Sāmānta Rājānaka Rājaputra Kumār-āmātyāparika Daṇḍa-



SECOND PLATE; FIRST SIDE.

- 10 Nūyaka Vishayapati Grāmapati Brāhma Purō Grāmāna
- 11 tyākshachāṭi Bhaṭa Daṇḍapāsā balā bhajātiryām yadhā rarha mā
- 12 nayati bōdhayati cha śamādisati vidita masū bhavataṁ ē
- 13 tadviśaya sambādh-Āmērasīnga grāmē bhūmi pūrvadisō Pau
- 14 shkarīṇyā paschimapālī parischedānadipavat paschima
- 15 pradēsād rud Bhōgikasyā bhōgapāṭaka parichchedāu tta
- 16 ta pradēsā bhīṣṭa parischedā dakṣhiṇa diśāyām nadiparichchē
- 17 dānadilām pānī ardha bhōgād Vājasēnachapāya Kaṇmaśā
- 18 khāya Jātukarṇa Gōtrāya Vasishṭh Ātri Jātukarṇṇēti prava

* From the impressions supplied by the Superintendent, Madras Museum. The readings were prepared with the kind help of Mr. C. Atmaram, B.A., B.L.

10
 14
 18

SECOND PLATE; SECOND SIDE.

- 19 rāyā jātukarṇṇa Bhaṭṭa jāya jēshātāya atripravarāya
 20 bhaṭṭa putra Jandaswāmi Śarmanē matāpitrō rātmanaścha
 21 punyābhi vṛddhayē salila dhārā purasariṇā chandrārkkam kshi
 22 ti samakālē makarī krutvā prat.pādismābhi yatah.sāsa
 23 na darśanāldharma gouravāsmadgouravā cha nakēnachi
 24 tparipamdhī bhavitavyam tadhācha paṭhyatī Dharma sāstrē Bahubhi
 25 rvasudhā dattā rajāna sagarādibhih yasya yasya yadhābhūmih
 26 tasya tasya tadāphalam svadaitam para dattamvā yoha

19
 23
 26

THIRD PLATE; FIRST SIDE.

- 27 rēta vasumdharam savishṭāyām kṛmir Bhūtvāpitṛbhi
28 śahapachyatē Mābhudaphalaśamkāva paradatēti pā
29 rdhivā śvadānāt pālamānanyām para datāupālānē i
30 ti kamaladalāmbubindulōlām Śrīmanuchi
31 ntya manuśya jēdhitāścha śakala midamudāhru
32 tāścha buddhānāhi puruṣaiparakīrta yōdhlōpyadr̥itagai
33 tra Mahāśamanta Śrīnāga khēḍi Mahā pratihāra Ādi
34 tyā varmmaṇa lēkhita likhitāścha Mahāsandhivigrahikah
35 Chāndapākenah utkirṇam kanchārakō Dēvapilānēti.



ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Blessed be. From his residence of Svātaka, Sri Mahārājah Indravarmma Dēva, who attained the accumulation of virtue obtained by worshipping the lotus feet of the illustrious Gokarnēsvara Bhaṭṭāraka, the lord of the immutable and mutable objects, the possessor of the Moon as his crest jewel, the cause of the origin, sustenance and dissolution of the Universe and the resident on the summit of the Mahēndra Mountain; who had as his subordinates the entire circle of vassals who were pleased with the lustre of his three-fold powers; who acquired the Adhirājya or Sovereignty over the whole of Kalinga by the power and strength of his own arms; who was the most devout worshipper of God Mahēśvara; who meditated on the feet of his parents and who was always happy, respects, instructs and

directs the following residents of Jalamvora vishaya viz., Mahāsāmanta (Great vassal), Sri Sāmanta (vassal), Rājānaka (King's cousin) Rāja putra (King's son), Kumāra (Yuvarāja), Amātya (Minister), Aparike (Body Guard), Daṇḍanāyaka (Commander), Viśhayapati (Head of the District), Grāmapati (Village headman), Brāhmapurōgrāmaṇi (Head of the Brāhmapura village or Berhampore?) Akshachāṭa (Keeper of records?), Bhaṭa (Soldier) Daṇḍapāśa bala (Captain of forces). Let it be known to you all that the land in the village of Amērasinga relating to the Jalamvora District within the limits set forth (the boundaries are given in the lines 13-17) was granted on Makarī (Sankrānti) occasion to the Brāhmin Chanda Svāmi Sarma, son of Jātukarṇa-Bhaṭṭa, of Vājasaneyā Vedic School, Kāiva Branch Jātukarṇa Gōtra and Vāsishṭhī Ātri Jātukarṇa Pravara (Rishis) for the increase of the merit of the King's parents and himself, with libation of water to last on earth as long as the Moon and Sun. This order of grant enhance the value of Dharma and conduces to the King's own prestige. Nobody should cause any obstruction to this. So, it is said as follows (vide lines 24-32) in Dharmasāstras:—

Several kings like Sagara have granted lands and as they will grant lands so they will enjoy the fruit. Whether the lands are given by us or by others, whoever destroys this gift will be born as worm in the refuse along with their fore-fathers. Whoever protects the gifts given by others will enjoy the merit as if the grant were made by him. This was got written by the great doorkeeper (Chamberlain) Adityavarma of the great vassal (Viceroy) Sri Nāga Khēd. It was written by the Foreign Secretary (*Sandhivigrahin*) Chandapaka and inscribed by the black smith Dēvapilana.

ATTAGADA MAHALINGESVAR ROCK INSCRIPTION.

SRI SRI SRI LAKSHMINARAYAN HARISCHENDRA
JAGADEB RAJAH BAHADUR.

Kodola is a village in Attagaḍa Zamindary of Ganjam District. About seven miles from the village, there is a hill called Jillurḍa at the foot of which stands a Śiva Temple. It is the temple of the *Mahalingeśvara* worn out by time and weather. That temple was constructed long ago and it contains ancient architecture. In the front of the temple there are the remains of a big *Maṇṭapa* of sixteen pillars. It is called "*Mukti Maṇṭapa*" where literary and religious discussions of learned people used to take place in ancient times, and, it was constructed in imitation of the *Mukti maṇṭapa* of Puri. Opposite to the temple, there are two statues, one above the other, at the base of the *maṇṭapa*. The top one is constructed with stone, the same material with which the temple is constructed. The one below is constructed with white marble stone. The attire and decorations of the two statues are the same. They have swords to their left side and crowns on their heads, with decorations of jewels cut in stone over their bodies. The two statues are seated with cross legs. Their hands are joined together at the chest as we generally do at the time of prayer (*Namaskara*). At the bottom of the lower statue, there is an inscription in two lines in ancient Oriya characters and language. The inscription reads as follows.

- 1 Ē putulī Paravatu
- 2 Tapī Mo (ma) hāpatrō

TRANSLATION :—

This statue is of Parvotā Tapī Mahāpātrō.

Before we go into the details of the inscription, it is necessary that we should learn the ancient history of this Zamindary to which the above inscription relates. At the time of the downfall of the Kāsari Dynasty in (Utkal) Orissa, there came a member of the Baghale Dynasty, Pāṇḍu Dēv by name, to Attagaḍa from Rewa when Padma Kāsari was reigning in Utkal. He was a *Kshatriya* by birth and for some reason or other, he had come to the south and found his residence in a cave of the Pejogola hill of Attagade Zamindary in Ganjam. While he was residing in that cave, he

solemnly worshipped the idol *Mahālingēśvara* which was not far away from his residence. By the grace of *Mahālingēśvara* who was much pleased with his worship and meditation, Pandu Dev had obtained a tract of land where, by his own prowess and by the help of the two servants, Ganda and Bahu of the idol *Mahālingēśvara*, founded a small kingdom. There, he established his rule and built a fort called Jillunda and reigned for 12 years. This person is the first ancestor of the Attagaḍa Raj family. As this prince spent his time in *tapas* or devoted worship, he was called *Pāṇḍu Tapasvi* or *Tapi* by the people. He had two sons, the eldest being known as *Bagho Tapasvi* and the youngest as *Bhima Tapasvi*. On the death of their father, the eldest son *Bagho Tapasvi* succeeded to the *Gādi* in Śaka 911, (989 A. D.) in accordance with their family custom. His brother, *Bhima Tapi* being instructed in a dream by *Mahālingēśvara* founded a *Rājya* for himself with the help of his eldest brother, to the north of the Attagaḍa Estate. That portion of the jungle was cleared and he built a new fort near Lodukesvar Śiva idol. He called that portion of land "Naugodo" or New Fort and reigned over that territory which was called by the name Lodukesvar. At that time, Purushōttama Kēsari, son of Amba Kēsari, and grand-son of Padma Kēsari, was reigning over Orissa. When Purushōttama Kēsari visited Sikula (goḍo) fort, *Bagho Tapasvi* met him at the Bindhai-suni Hill. The King of Orissa, being much pleased with the good qualities of *Bagho Tapasvi*, bestowed on him the title, of "Parvata Vyāghratapi Mahāpātro" and installed him as the Rajah. From that time, his descendents have reigned at Attagaḍa. He got the temple of *Mahālingēśvar* built in his time. He reigned until Śaka 969, (1047 A. D.) and was succeeded by his eldest son *Brishabha Tapi*. It is understood from the above history and the inscription, that the bottom statue in the *Mukti Mantapa* is that of *Parvata Vyāghra Tapi Mahāpātro* the first ruler of Attagaḍa *Rājya*. The upper statue might belong to his father *Pāṇḍu Tapi*. To this day, we see the *āsrama* or the residence of the founder of Attagaḍa *Rājya* in the cave of the Pejogola hill. People frequently visit this place to see the cave and its surroundings which present a beautiful scene.

THE XI SESSION OF THE INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION.*

R. SUBBA RAO, M. A., L. T.

The Eleventh Annual meeting of the Session commenced at 11 A. M. on 5—12—28 in the Convocation Hall of the Nagpur University, when H. E. Sir Montagu Butler, Governor of the Central Provinces, opened the session and delivered the very interesting address which is printed below. Prof. Jadunath Sircar, M. A., C. I. E., replied on behalf of the Commission and it is also reproduced below. Then, the reading of papers commenced. The first paper read by Rt. Rev. A. Wood, M. A., related to the Gond dynasty in Chanda and Central Provinces. He traced the rise of the Gond kingdom in the C. P. and touched upon the various theories regarding the origin of the race and in particular, the theory that the Gonds are the original inhabitants, being a remnant of the inhabitants of the lost Continent of Limuria. From an account of the several inscriptions and archaeological remains discovered in the country, ranging from 300 A. D. to 1200 A. D., he stated that the Vākatakas ruled over the people from the 3rd to the 7th century A. D. and then, the Haihayas of (Dakshina) Kosala from 639 A. D. to 1114 A. D. and finally the Mandla rulers of Wairagarh. Next, he described the fortunes of the Gond dynasties of Chanda from 1240 to 1751 A. D. and the Gond dynasties of Deogarh, from 1489 to 1742 A. D. Finally, he gave an account of the Gond culture and civilisation and their linguistic affinities. The paper was highly interesting and instructive.

With the reading of a few more papers, the morning session ended. In the evening, the reading of papers was resumed but owing to the heavy file of papers and other engagements, only the summaries of papers were read and in some cases, papers were taken as read. Also, there was no discussion with regard to the papers read. It would appear that the several Universities of India and Burma were, for the first time, asked to send delegates to attend the session on the first day and it was therefore expected that sufficient time would be allowed for the reading of papers and discussion thereon by extending the session by a day or two. More benefit would have been derived by the scholars present, if such a course had been followed. It is, however, hoped that, in future sessions, better arrangements would be made. It is no doubt good that the several scholars who attended the session from all parts of India and Burma were enabled to exchange their views by coming into contact with one another.

* The Syndicate of the Andhra University was good enough to depute the writer of this article along with Messrs. M. Venkatarangiah M.A., and M. S. Ramaswamy Iyengar, M.A. to attend the Session as University Delegates.

In the evening, H. E. the Governor opened the Historical Exhibition, at the Victoria Technical Institute. The exhibition consisted of Historical Materials, Mss. Records from several of the Secretariat offices, especially of C. P., Firmans of the Moghul Emperors relating to the English trade of the East India Company, Geographical sketches of the Central Provinces, Autograph letters and Minutes of several Governors-General, Paintings of the Moghul Emperors, Pourtrait Albums, Palm-leaf MSS., Coins, Copperplate inscriptions of several Hindu kings, Photographs of ancient Art and Sculpture, Ancient Armoury etc. etc. The Exhibition proved a great success and it had to be kept open for several days owing to the great interest shown by the Public of Nagpur. A list of historical objects exhibited by me is given at the end. Several of them belong to the Museum of the Andhra Historical Research Society. But the Persian Firmans and the Manuscript Letters of the East India Company were kindly lent by Rajah Sri Kandregula Srinivas Rao Bahadur of Rajahmundry, along with a photograph of the oil-painting of his ancestor, Rajah Srinivasa Jogi Jagannadha Rao Bahadur who was the Muzumdar and Sar Sheristadar of the Rajamandry Circar from 1759. A. D.

On the morning of 6th Dec., the Members and the Delegates visited the Fort and the old Residency. The latter is a famous historical place. It was in 1817 that Appa Saheb made a treaty with the Peshwa and attacked Colonel. Jenkins. But the Residency, being situated on two low hills called Seetabaldi, could offer stout resistance until the gallantry of Captain Fitzgerald saved the situation.

Then the local Museum was visited by the party. The archaeological section consists of sculptures, partly Brahmanical and partly Jain and Bhuddhist. Siva, Vishnu, Surya, Chandra, Gaṇeśa, Durga and other deities are well displayed in several forms. Gond memorial stones representing various scenes from their life are also preserved. Besides, punch marked coins, several Copper-Plate and Stone inscriptions of the several dynasties of C. P. are found here. Last but not least in point of importance, the party visited the Record offices of the C. P. Secretariat which supplied many important records to the Exhibition.

In the noon, the members and co-opted members of the commission met to consider questions bearing on the work of the Commission, such as, transfer of the Company records from Calcutta to Delhi, deputation of members of the Commission to Native states, granting access to the records to members of the public etc., etc. It was also settled that the next session should meet at Patna in December 1929. In passing, it should be mentioned that the Dy. Director of Public Instruction, the Education Minister and H.E. the Governor were all "At Home" to Members and Delegates. In conclusion, it must also be said that one and all enjoyed the stay at Nagpur and the success of the Session, was entirely due to the attention and care of the Secretary, Mr. Abdul-Ali, M. A.

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY H. E. SIR MONTAGU BUTLER,

M. A., K. C, S. I., C. B., C. L. E., C. V. O., C. B. E.,

GENTLEMEN OF THE HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION:—

This is your first visit to the Central Provinces, and all of us here are very glad to see you. That you have assembled here in what I am told in unusual strength is a tribute partly, I hope, to our reputation for hospitality to strangers, and partly to our central position. In recent years, the position of this province has been revolutionised by the opening up of great trunk lines of railway passing through Nagapur from Delhi to Madras. From being central in name, we have become central in fact, and I look forward to our becoming more and more, as communications by rail and road are developed, a popular meeting place for our neighbours. Personally I have a special pleasure in welcoming you, because, though you have been addressed by many Governors of greater distinction, I am the first, I believe, who has been himself one of you, and who understands from inside what you are doing, and at what you are aiming—I had the privilege of being your President for two and a half years, and during that time was fortunate enough to see many important schemes inaugurated. My friend, Mr. Abdul Ali, has been telling me about their development. I have been especially interested to hear of the progress made in rendering the Imperial records at Calcutta more accessible to scholars, and in securing corresponding members for the Commission. In the nature of things the few distinguished scholars, who form the commission itself, drawn as they are from different parts of a big continent cannot personally investigate the historical records of India as a whole. They can form only a focus of activity, and provide the directing brain for research. The actual work of collecting and making available India's records must be done by local workers, some of them professional, and others amateur historians. In England, a vast amount of work of this kind is performed by men of leisure, or busy men in their leisure months, or men in their retirement after a life of activity. We have or have had such men here in the Central Provinces. The researches of scholars like Mr. Wills, till lately Commissioner of Nagapur and of others who are here present today, whose names I must not mention out of regard for their modesty are cases in point. What we want now is more such workers, and greater combination amongst

them. It is my strong hope that the visit of the Historical Records Commission to Nagapur, and the sight of the exhibits in the Historical Exhibition which I shall have great pleasure in opening this afternoon, will provide a fresh starting point in this direction. I am looking forward, particularly, to seeing the Rai Bahadur Paras Das Collection which is being shown outside Delhi for the first time, as well as, among others, the exhibits from the collections of Messrs Ajit Ghosh and Bahadur Singh of Calcutta. I have no doubt also that many of the original unpublished records relating to important events in the Central Provinces, which have been brought to Nagapur from the archives of the Government of India and the Government of Bengal, will prove of absorbing interest to those engaged in historical research in this province. Among local exhibits the valuable collections of the Qazi and Khatib of Ellichpur, and other prominent families like the the Bhuskutes of Burhanpur and the Chitnavises and Gujars of Nagpur, and of private individuals like Mr. Y. M. Kale of Buldana, will, I am sure, attract attention. It is worthy of note that the recently discovered autograph letters of Sir Arthur Wellesley, who became subsequently the famous Duke of Wellington, would have remained buried, possibly for many long years in our own Record Room in the Secretariat here, but for the local enthusiasm aroused by the visit of the Commission to Nagapur.

Gentlemen, the history of this province is a fascinating study. Originally a vast forest, such as Britain must once have been, it was invaded and colonised over long periods of time by men of different races and different cultures, coming alike from all the points of the compass, from the south and from the north, and from the east and from the west. Who were the earliest inhabitants; who were the Gonds, who gave their names to Gondwana, and where did they spring from; how were the Rajput kingdoms of Chattisgarh established and organised, and how came the cotton tracts to be settled—all these are problems, the secrets of which we know enough about to whet but not to satisfy our appetites. For the earlier periods it is but too likely that no records, other than perhaps place-names exist, and it may be that the investigation to be done is the work more of the archæologist than of the student of the written word, but for later times there must be preserved amongst the old families some papers, the value of which should be tested before it is too late. A hurried effort to trace such documents since the Commission announced its intention of coming here has had the results to which I have already alluded and I trust that further efforts will follow after the Commission has left us. Any advice from you, Gentlemen, as to how we should pursue our endeavours, and particularly any expression of opinion as to whether

any permanent organisation for historical enquiry should be set up in the province, and if so, on what lines, will, I am sure, be helpful. My colleagues and I in the Government will also welcome any suggestions you may care to put forward about the care of our official records of historical importance. Within reasonable financial limits, we are all anxious to do what we can to further your efforts.

Gentlemen, I have laid stress on the importance of the work of your Commission, not because of its academic interest, but because I feel that underlying it there is a deeper and wider purpose. A quarter of a century ago when the archæological department of the Government of India was stirred into a new life, I remember well that there were many who scoffed at its activities, and questioned their utility. The work actually performed has changed the outlook of the doubters. All of us now realise that the excavation and preservation of her ancient monuments is an essential expression of the soul of India. No nation can be really confident of its future unless it is conscious of and understands its past, and is proud of all that has gone before to build up its present. The labours of the archæologist, still in their infancy, are helping modern India to understand out of what she has been formed and are showing how her present culture is the product not of a single strain, but is a fusion of many strains. The work of the Historical Records Commission in its deeper significance is on the same lines. The task before it is to help in unravelling the confused and tangled skein of Indian History, with a view to assisting in creating such a sense of unity in diversity as will make us all, to whatever race or religion or community we belong, proud of our share in Modern India. As I have said already, we, British people, are a mixture of different races. Throughout the period of our fusion we have fought and quarrelled amongst ourselves, and misunderstood each other as now in India the different communities labour under misunderstandings. But after hundreds of years we have won through to unity, and to an appreciation of all that scholars tell us about the diverse elements in our present culture. The task in India is a harder one. The country is so much larger and the differences so much greater. But here also we are working towards unity. The little bit which this Commission is doing to help in this direction is worth doing, and its labours are worthy of the support of all those in this province who have the ideal of the New India, as a nation amongst the nations, in their hearts.

Gentlemen, again I give you welcome on behalf of the province and wish you a successful session,

REPLY OF

Professor JADUNATH SARKAR, M. A.

On behalf of the Commission I beg to thank His Excellency the Governor for the cordial welcome he has extended to us. In Sir Montagu Butler we are indeed, meeting with an old friend. The Commission had profited by his sympathy and valuable guidance even before he came to this Province. As Education Secretary to the Government of India, he was *ex-officio* President of the Commission for over two years, and he took the keenest interest in our work. In many ways the work of the Commission was helped and its usefulness extended as the result of Sir Montagu's measures at that time. The corresponding members, appointed at various centres in India and Burma who now form our valuable colleagues, were first created at his instance. The historical exhibition attached to our meetings, which now excites such wide public interest and serves as an object-lesson in historical instruction, was first organised on its present large scale under Sir Montagu's orders. He also started a very much-needed but long-delayed work among the records of the Imperial Government itself. Their huge and daily growing bulk makes their proper preservation and speedy consultation an increasingly difficult task unless they are sorted and classified, and the useless mass of papers laid aside, so that the really historical documents may receive proper care. But to guard against the destruction of any paper of historical value through the ignorance or oversight of the office, a Records Sub-Committee of this Commission was constituted, with three scholars on its personnel, to afford expert supervision to this work of classification and weeding out. For all these, even apart from his present hospitality as head of this Province, we are grateful to His Excellency.

As this is our first visit to Nagpur, it may be necessary to give you some idea of our scope and policy. The Indian Historical Records Commission was constituted by the Government of India in 1919 for the purpose of advising it on the best means of preserving its records, listing and calendaring them, making them accessible to the public, and publishing catalogues and reproductions of the more important papers in the State archives. The Commission at its inception consisted only of three Keepers of Government Records (*viz.*, those of India, Madras and Bengal) with three historical scholars to give it expert advice. Such a small and purely advisory body may seem to have had no need to meet

every year nor to visit the different provincial capitals. But it was at once found that the records for our country were in a very different condition from those of England and France, and required a different treatment. In several provinces the Government had no properly organized record office and no special record officer, while others were remarkably advanced in this respect (notably Madras under Mr. H. Dodwell). At the same time the Government did not hold all the historical records. Leaving out the ancient and mediæval periods of our country's history, many records of even the European period are in the possession of private persons and are needed to supplement and complete the contents of the State archives for any specific subject of historical inquiry. For instance, the letters addressed by Lord Dalhousie and some other high officials to Sir Frederick Currie, the head of the Panjab administration during the eventful year of the Second Sikh War (1848) are to be found in the original in the possession of Rao Bahadur D. B. Parashni. French and Portuguese State papers directly bearing upon British Indian history are to be found in Pondicherry and Goa respectively and several important documents are in the possession of the Indian States and of private families in British India.

The problem before our Commission was how to get information about these. Sir Henry Sharp, our first President, found its solution by extending our scope and turning the original small and purely advisory body of experts into a larger and more elastic band of explorers and collectors. In order to attempt private collections of records out of their hiding places, and not only save them from ants but also bring them to the notice of scholars, it was decided to visit the different provinces in rotation, invite the public to our meetings at which historical papers would be read and discussed and to organize an exhibition of historical documents and objects of interest or art.

This development of our activity has been eminently successful. We have secured the very valuable co-operation of two workers among records outside British India, *viz.*, Senhor P. Pissurlencar of Goa and M. Singaravelou Pillai of Pondicherry, whom, I grieve to say, we shall never more see in our midst. State papers of great importance now in private possession have been unearthed and printed in our proceedings, and find-spots of other similar collections have been revealed.

In short, this Commission without being a large gathering of varied scholarship like the Oriental Conference, can claim that its public sessions have evoked cordial co-operation among earnest students of history and kindled a keen desire for historical inquiry and preservation of records in many parts of India.

The value of this Commission's work has this year found a pleasing recognition from some of the Indian Universities which have sent their Delegates to attend its meetings, for the first time.

The Records Commission has lost a most valuable member by the death of Monsieur A. Singaravelou Pillai, Curator of the Old Records of French India, Pondicherry. He attended all our meetings since the Madras session and his tireless industry in office and search among the private families of his place resulted in the happy discovery of several papers of historical importance, such as the last Will of Niccolao Nanucci and a report on the political condition of the Indian States written by M. Bussy (which rivals Jean Law's report of an earlier date on the same subject, published by M. A. Martineau). Many of our members still remember him as a delightful personal friend. On behalf of the Commission, I beg to convey our condolence to his family, through his brother, who is attending this session. We also mourn the death of Prof. Jogendra Nath Samaddar, B.A. a corresponding member from Bihar.

For the historical exhibition, we are grateful to the owners of the exhibits. I should like to notice the special generosity of Rai Bahadur Lala Paras-das, Rais of Delhi, whose rare collection has now for the first time been allowed to travel outside Delhi.

We thank the people of Nagpur for the interest they have displayed in the Commission and the hospitality they have shown to us. The history of this Province, when properly written, cannot fail to be a chapter of the history of India, equally romantic and rich in lessons of political growth. Scholars are not waiting who deny to Nagpur the right to be regarded as the ancient 'City of the Serpent', whose King sought the hand of the fair Princess Indumati.

Ath-orag-ākhyā-sya nātham

Daubārikt deva-swarupam-etya

Itash-chakorākshi bilokayeti

Purvā nushishtām nijagada Bhojyām.

But the fort of Nagpur, as a stronghold of the Gond Rajah of Deogarh, is mentioned in the official annals of Shah Jahan. Since then its historical record is unbroken. In the British period, four streams of people, from the north, east, south-east and south-west, have met together in this Province and diversified its ethnology and history. Your southern adjunct, Berar, was a seat of ancient Hindu culture famous in Sanscrit poetry and legend, while in the Muhammadan and Maratha ages, it played a most important part in the southward expansion of the empire of Delhi and the northward advance of the Maratha power. That history must have left its legacy in the form of many private collections of records in the various cities and even old villages of this Province. To the need of discovering and utilising them we draw your attention, for it is only with the help of such materials that a true history of your Province can be written. That work, begun by the C. P. Government four years ago, has, we understand, been suspended, but with the help of the local scholars, it may be easily accomplished.

LIST OF HISTORICAL MATERIALS EXHIBITED.

A Set of three Copper Plates with ring belonging to **Rejendravarma**—the Eastern Ganga King.

A Set of three Copper Plates with ring and Seal belonging to **Devendravarma**—the Eastern Ganga King.

A Set of three Copper Plates belonging to **Ammarâja-Vijayâditya**--the Eastern Chalukya King.

A Set of Five Copper Plates belonging to **Vijayaditya VII.**—the Eastern Chalukya King.

A Copy of **Mons. Bussy's** Sanad in Persian given to **Joggi Pantulu** in **Hejira 1172**.

A Letter from **H. Smith**, dated 7th Aug, 1767 to **C. Joggi Pantulu** to make good the balance due by **Seetharamaraju** and other Zamindars.

A Letter of **John Pybus** to **Joggu** dated 24th Nov. 1764 informing that he must carefully behave in negotiating with **Nizam Ali** and **Rukunad Doulah**.

A Copy of letter from **Bouchier**, dated 25th Sept. 1769 confirming the grant made by **Muhamud doulah** to **Sreenivasa Rao** alias **Joggi** appointing him as the **Muzumdar** and **Sheristadar** of **Rajamandry** circar and ordering the Zamindars to recognise his rights.

A **Cowle** granted by **Dupre**, **Warren Hastings** and other members of the Council of **Fort St. George** to **Joggi Pantulu** of the **Rajamandry** Circar,

A Letter from **Smith**, Governor of **Fort St. George** dated 14th Feb. 1781 to the Zamindars in the Circar of **Rajamandry** asking them to pay their kist to **Venkata Rao**.

A **Palmyra** leaf manuscript containing the History of **Padmanaikas**.

A **Palmyra** leaf manuscript called "**Râyavâchakam**" in **Telugu**, containing the history of South India in the 16th Century.

A copy of the **Firman** of **Rustumkhan** in Persian, bearing seal and dated 1146 **Hejira** granting lands excluded from the payment of revenue in the **Parganas** of **Bikkol**, **Ellore**, **Sukkur** and **Kaimoor** in the **Rajamandry** Circar to **Achanna Kulkarni**.

A letter written to Governor **Rumbold** of **Fort St. George** by **Raja Gajapathi Raja Bahadur** about the Settlement of Estate affairs.

A Persian firman, given under the seals of **Rustumkhan**, **Nuruddin khan** and **Anwaruddin khan** granting lands to one **Achanna Kulkarni** in **Bikkol taluk**.

A Persian firman dated 1147 **Hejira** ordering that lands and produce in **Peddada** be confirmed in possession of **Antanna kulkarni**.

A Persian firman dated 1147 **Hejira** conferring grants of lands in **Kimmur**, **Bikkol** etc., in **Rajamandry** Circar on **Antanna Kulkarni**.

Several coins of the **Andhras** and **Muhamadans**.

LITERARY GLEANINGS.

M. RAMA KRISHNA KAVI M.A.

(Continued from p. 71 above.)

In the court of Mahēndravikrama, the Pallava King of Kānchi one Rudrāchārya, who may be identified with the celebrated Rudraṭa or Mēdhāvi Rudra, immortalised his correction of tānas in the Kuḍimiamala inscription. This is no work but it testifies the exertion towards their analytical study of musical tunes.

Between 9th and 11th centuries Kashmir patronised the art and produced great authors as Lollaṭa, Śāṅkuka, Abhinavagupta etc. The work of the last alone is now available. It is the commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* which devotes 5 chapters to both kinds of music. Abhinava shows a thorough grasp of the subject and every great writer who came after him is deeply indebted to him. The chief merit in Abhinava is that he never skips over difficult passages. He had made practical study and was master of all the available works then; especially on the *Talaadhyaya* not now in vogue he brought to bear upon it his whole genius. He himself says:—
पोद्ध्यन्ते यदुपरिपरे पारलभानवप्ते यत्प्रोक्तानां विमलमपि सन्देहमेवावहेत ।

मायाम्बोधिप्रकटगहनात्तालतत्त्वादमष्मान् प्रोत्तीर्णाःस्मः सरदमममी(?)संचरामोधुवार्थम् ॥

Almost contemporaneous with him and greatest of the royal patrons of Sanskrit is Bhōja of Dhāra, who fostered the science of *Gāndharva* in its full sense and produced a work called *Gitapraśāsa*. Like its sister-production, *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, a gigantic work on *Alankāra* may be at least half of that size. The loss of the work is highly deplorable for the highly analytical genius of Bhōja makes even a rocky subject flexible and sweet.

A few decades later, Nāṇyadēva the king of Mithila and probably the ancestor of the present royal family of Nēpal, a scion of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty, maintained a musical court and produced a voluminous work in 17 chapters containing about 10,000 *granthas*. The entire work treats of music proper and is really indispensable for a research scholar who gropes into ancient civilisation. The work is at every stage highly illuminating. Every step in the advancement of music was closely traced to the rites of the Vēdic Epoch, and every instrument was brought face to face with that used in the sacrificial rites by sacred *Rshis*. He gives full

information on every subject except on flute, where he is eclipsed by a voracious royal scholar. Kumbhakarna. Some chapters in *Sarasvatī-hṛdayālankāra*, which is the name of Nāṇya's work, may be deemed useless in our own day; for they treat of *sapta-gitis*, *deśi-gitis* and the ancient *tāla* system which are now obsolete. The first of these topics was elaborately dealt with by Bharata, while the *deśi-gitis* the source of later *prabandhas* took a prominent place in the grand work of Matanga. Dattila from his quotations given by Nāṇya and Abhinava seems to have bestowed greater attention upon the *sapta-gitis*, knowledge of which was indispensable to the right understanding of the Vedic rites in *Aśvamedha* and *Rājasūya*. Those seven sacred chants were first sung by Dakṣa-brahmā to propitiate gods. *Ēkatantrī*, *Pināki* and *Kinnarī vīṇas* were introduced to produce all the graces of the seven songs when sung by the *rshis*. All the subsequent writers have carefully omitted the subject-matter of these three chapters. Nāṇyadēva gives details for about 140 *rāgas*. He is always careful to quote his authorities and thus on *rāgas* his chief masters are Kāśyapa and Matanga. Śārṅgadēva covered a wider range of 260 *rāgas*, many of which were abandoned long before his day. Nandin also discussed about the same number. But Śārṅgadēva was not much indebted to Nandin for his materials which were directly taken from Nāṇyadēva for *rāgas* and from Abhinava for all critical matter, though he never mentions his creditors anywhere. A close comparison of Śārṅga's work with the production of Abhinava will reveal the astonishing insight with which he studied the psychology of the great philosopher Abhinava.

After Nāṇyadēva, may be mentioned, an elder contemporary of his, *Jagadēkamalla* Pratāpachakravartī, a Western Chalukyan king of the early eleventh century, who produced in five chapters his *Saṅgita Muklāvalī*. The work is generally on all topics and does not evince the author's originality or powers of criticism. But its popularity as handy text-book made it survive to our days. His fourth grandson, Sōmēśvara or Bhūlōkamalla, a pupil of Bilhaṇa and Vijnānēśvara devoted his entire attention to song and dance, so much so that models of South Indian music took the appellation of *Karnāṭa* the land over which he ruled. He even condescended to get down from his throne to teach a certain grace in posture in a dance called *Kurḍali* to a Mahratta dancer and henceforward it was called *gondili*.¹ All the *prabandhas* of pleasing combinations were

१ कल्यणकटके पूर्वं भूतमावृमहोत्सवे । सोमेशः कौतुकी कांचिद् भिल्लवेषमुपेयुषीम् ।
नृत्यन्तीमथ गायन्ती स्वयं पेय्य मनोहरम् । प्रीतो निर्मितवान् चित्रगौण्डनीविधमित्ययम् ।
स्वतोमिल्ली महाराष्ट्रैर्गौण्डिनी त्यभिधीयते ॥ *Nṛitaratnāvalī*, V, (1250 A. D.)

the productions of his court. His separate work on music has not come to my notice. In his encyclopaedia called *Mānasōllasa* he devoted 2,500 *śloka*s for music and instruments. He touched upon certain new phases in music specially *prabandhas*. His information is, undoubtedly full and valuable.

From the Chālukyan court of Kalyān we shall pass to Dēvagiri, the capital of Sevūṇa kings. In their palmy days Śārangadēva produced his *Ratnakara* which deals with all the useful branches in music based upon high authorities which soon became a popular text book. It had six commentaries from different parts of India. Kumbhakarna and Raghunātha, the great authorities on music denounce Śārangadēva for his ignorance or meagreness, especially in citing some *ragas* on the flute and *vina*.²

Pārśvadēva, probably a mahratha, later than Bhōja and Sōmēśvara produced his *Sangīta-samayāsāra* in 9 *adhikarānas* where the music proper ends in five. The third chapter deals with *deśi-rāgas* given by Matanga as developed in his day. A novel feature in his work is that he deals in every section with the *dēsi* methods and not much of *Marga-sangīta*. About A. D. 1300 Harijāla king of Oudh, who settled at Srirangam in the south, produced *sangīta-sudhākara* dealing with singing and dancing. It is a small common place treatise on both the subjects. It is a convenient text-book for the beginners in thereof. About A.D. 1400 Kōmaṭi Vēma, the ruler of Koṇḍavīḍu, in the Andhra country wrote *Sangīta-chintāmani*, a bigger text-book summarising the opinions of Dattila, and Matanga especially. It is a work of valuable reference. The only copy of it is available in the Maharajah's Library in Travancore.

2 The printed edition gives the colophon as

इति श्रीमदभिनवभरताचार्य खरविमलहेर्मण्यार्य विद्यापुत्र श्रुतिज्ञान चक्रवर्ति
सङ्गीताकर नामधेय पार्श्वदेव विरचिते सङ्गीतसमयसारे...

But our manuscript reads :—

श्रीमदभयभद्रमुनीन्द्रचरणकमल मधुकरायितमस्तके महादेवार्य शिष्यस्वरविमल
विद्यापुत्रसम्यक्तचूडामणि भरतभाण्डीरभाषाप्रवीण सङ्गीताकरनामधेय पार्श्वदेवविरचिते

This colophon will carry the writer to 1250 A. D. as his guru **अभयचन्द्र** flourished then, **भाण्डीरभाषा** is the ancestor of the present Gujarati language in which Bhōja and Sōmēśvara according to Pārśvadēva produced their lyrics. But Dr. Burnell in noticing a work called **भाण्डीरभाषाव्याकरण** in the Palace Library, Tanjore, remarks that the work is a pedantic production of recent date written to the orders of Mahratta prince, of Tanjore,

The forgotten empire of Vijayanagara at its different stages of rise and fall produced a number of worthy authors of whom Kallinātha, the commentator of *Sangita Ratnākara* and Devaṇa Bhaṭṭa the author of *Sangita-Muktāvali*, were patronised by Praudha Dēvarāya in A.D. 1420 Krishnarāya caused the production at the hands of Lakshmaṇa Bhaṭṭa, a work called *Sangita-suryōdaya* known as *Lakshmana-Bharata*. A decade after the production of this work, Bayakāram Rāmāyāmātya produced his *Śravanalakāṇidhi* under the patronage of Aliya Rāmārāya of Vijayanagar. Rāmāyāmātya was the governor of Kondaviḍu and was also a patron of Telugu Literature. The former of the works is a general survey of music while the latter introduces the re-arranged system of *Kārṇāṭa* ragas.

Kūmaṭṭerīya, a work on singing and dancing, was cited by Lakshmaṇa the commentator on *Gītagōvinda*, and which must have been produced by the patronage of Aliya-Rāmārāya. To this period belongs *Tāḷaśālāvilāsa*, an important work, which subverted the older system of *tāḷas* and introduced the system now current. *Sangītamānidarpaṇa*, *Mallubhaṭṭīya*, *Sangītavidyāvinōla* are the productions of this epoch which attest the musical activities in the Telugu country.

Kallinātha's commentary though extensive is defective in several places. Śārangadeva closely follows Abhinava and adopts all his criticisms by a rearrangement of the matter. Kallinātha without reading that original attempts to explain those passages and consequently he is meagre if not very wrong. That is why Raghunātha has trenchantly put thus :—

श्रीशार्ङ्गदेवेन कृतां च सप्ताध्यायीं तथा लक्ष्मविरोथिलक्ष्याम् ।

अबोधकात्यल्पतरप्रयोगामुष्टिरागानुदतस्वरूपाम् ।

एनां स्फुटीकर्तुमिहप्रवृत्तौ तौ ब्राह्मणौ केशवकलिनाथौ ।

येकाद्वयेनापि कृतेन ताभ्यामबोधितास्पष्टपदार्थ भेदाम् ॥

About 1440 Kumbhakarna, king of Mawad completed his *Sangita-mīmāṃsa* alias *Sangītarāja* in five sections of *pathya*, *gīta*, *vādyā*, *nṛtya* and *rasa*. The whole work is not available to us. Each of the five sections is further classified into four chapters of minor divisions. The work extends over 16,000 *ślokas*. His treatment is thorough in *gīta* and *vādyā*. He sifts all the material then available to him and possessing high s astric proficiency discusses theories very intelligently. For example we cite the theory of *rasa* and use of the word *suttva*, etc. He did not quote from Kōhala or Kāśyāpa though he says he studied them. He mentions Dattila rarely. He had with him Rāphula's and Kirtidhara's *Vartikas* on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*; he

examined the treatises of Kshētrarāja. Modern research cannot be complete without a thorough study of this grand work. The author was a profound scholar in *Mīmāṃsa* and vedic rites and thus scarcely misunderstands the arguments of Matanga, Dattila and Abhinavagupta whom he closely follows. His section on Musical prosody was borrowed from the later writers of North India. It seems Kōhala contributed a chapter to that topic.

In the construction of *vīnas* and *vamsas* he gives all possible details. He touched upon chiefly *Nakula*, *Pinaki*, *Svaramandala*, *Mattakokila*, *Kinnari*, of medium and higher sorts. Sōmēśvara treats of only *Ēkatantrī*, *Alavani*, and *Kinnari* of two kinds. Nānyadāva elaborates *Rudravīna*, and *Kinnari*. He accidentally mentions that Nārada used *Vīnā* of 21 strings and Matanga practised upon *Chaitrika* and *Svāti* on a lute of 9 strings. We understand that *Laghu kinnari* has 8 frets while the *guru* has 14. About 1620 A.D. when the court of Vijayanagar lost all its literary grandeur and Tanjore took the lead, a host of poets, songsters, architects lived in that court especially under Raghunātha. This illustrious sovereign though a *Śūdra* by birth studied all *Śāstras* and produced a number of poems in Telugu, besides encouraging a host of writers in Sanskrit. A number of poetesses in Sanskrit and Telugu adorned his court; while even brahmin-scholars were profited by his teaching; so says Yajñanārāyaṇa in his *Sahitya-ratnakara*. Gōvinda Dīkshita was his minister and the builder of the Tanjore fortress. At his instance King Ragunātha wrote two works *Sangītasudha* and *Bharatasudha* of which the former alone is available. *Sangītasudha* seems to have been written in seven chapters; but we have only four of which the first two treat of *svaras*, *srutis* and *ragas*. It is written in *upajati* metre and in easy graceful style. The treatment is full and most graphic as a master-hand would deal with the subject. Though he is indebted to a number of writers he names the following as leaders among them.

समीक्ष्य नन्दीश्वसंहितां तामालेक्ष्य शास्त्रं भरतप्रणीतम् ।
ग्रन्थं धृष्टेक्ष्यभिधं मतङ्गमुनिप्रणीतं निपुणं विलोक्य ।
निशाम्य संगीतकचन्द्रिकारम्यं कृतिं च भट्टादिममाधवस्य ।
विचार्य तां याष्टिकतां च ज्ञात्वाञ्जनानन्दनसंहितां च ।
संगीतसारं समवेक्ष्य विद्यारण्याभिध श्रीचरणप्रणीतम् ।
उभापतेराधुनिकस्य तन्त्रमुद्धीक्ष्यनन्दीशमतानुसारि ।

Of these *Sangitachandrika* has been incidentally touched upon and *Sangītasara* was the production of great Vidyāranya. The work is not found now, but quotations from it are given in

Sangītanarayaṇa, a work of the 18th century by Nārāyaṇa of the Gāṅga family probably an ancestor of the present ruler of Parākimedi, and also in *Bharatasarasangraha* of Chikkadevarāya of Mysore about A.D. 1680. One *Sangītasara* which is available in the state library of Bikanir does not answer to the description of the work given by Raghunātha and seems to be a different work. The loss of Vidyaranya's work which purports to detail 267 *ragas* recognising theory and practice avoiding the errors into which Śārangadeva fell, is deplorable.

Raghunātha treats at length of only 50 *ragas* which he says were in use. Older writers simply gave *ruṣa*, *nyasa* and *graha* to each of the *ragas*; but Raghunātha gives in detail the number of the *sruti* in each *svara* with *alaptika*. He arranged 50 *rāgas* under 15 *mēlakartas*, the details given against each of them are full and useful for *vīna*. The third and fourth chapters of the work are devoted to musical compositions known as *prabandhas* then in vogue and to minor tropes in music. Of the musical productions in South India this is indeed the best work now extant. It is a small work of about 3000 *granthas*.

This royal scholar had two pupils who were both writers on Mimāṃsā, Yajñanārāyaṇa and Venkaṭamakhin. The latter composed a small work called *Chaturdaṇḍiprakasika* which in 6 chapters deals with *sruti*, *svara*, *ragas* etc. The work is critical and the author introduced many novel ideas and suggested new methods. It is said that he was the first to introduce 72 *mēlakartas* now in use in South India. This introduction is mnemonic rather than logical which is the characteristic of the older classification. How far Venkaṭamakhin is the author of this introduction is still doubtful. One may be inclined to attribute it to some innovator in the court of Vijayanagar. Venkaṭamakhin is hard upon great writers especially on Bayakara. Ramāmātya of the court of Rāmarāya. Ramāmātya is not a negligible writer and his *Svaramēlakalanidhi* gave impetus to Venkaṭamakhin whose offensive trait can be illustrated thus:—

अथेदानीं विचार्यन्ते रामामात्येनलक्षिताः । मेलप्रकरणेमेलाः स्वरमेलकलानिधौ ।

न हि तान्यत्र शक्यन्ते दूषणानि त्वयेरिते । ग्रन्थे गणपितुं दोषसमर्थते मया ॥

काम्भोजीरागमेलस्य कैश्चिद्वपारब्धनिषादकः । इति नो वेत्ति किं वीणावादिनां गृहवास्यपि ।

तद्वद्वैकाररामोक्तान् मेलान् विश्वस्य वैणिकैः । कान्तारकूपेवष्टव्या उद्धृत्य भुजे मुच्यते ॥

3 The System of *mēlakartas* is elaborated in *sangrahachūdāmani* purported to have been composed by Shanmukha in Skandapurāṇa. The existence was doubted by Subbarāma Dikshita of Ettiapuram in his *Sangita* work. Happily an old manuscript is available with me and Venkaṭamakhin's originality can be disproved.

Raghunātha describes three *vinas* and produces his own to yield all the graces of *srutis*; but Vēṅkaṭamakhin discards it as unfit and introduces his own with slight alteration of the position of frets. His work was partly printed at Bombay but when we examined its original Ms., it was complete.

About A. D. 1750 Narāyaṇa leṇ issued *Sangitanarayana* in five chapters the first of which deals with music proper while the second is devoted instruments, the remaining to *prabandhas* and *Nṛtta*. A number of works were cited in it many of which as *Kalankura-nibandha*, *Sangita-raṇamāla*, *Sangita-kaumudī* etc., are the productions of the Ōdhra country during 17 and 18th centuries, while a number of others as *Sangita-ratnamala* of Mammāṭa and the works of Kōhala and other *Rishis*, cited in it are not available to us. The author of this work skips over knotty problems. He names three *vinas*, *Kinnari Rudrarāṇa* and *Kacchapi* with details for construction. Nānyadēva and Kumbhakarna give a more graphic description of their *vinas*.

Thus far have viewed with a cursory glance the chief production in South India. Northern India can exhibit its plethora of works which attest to the musical activities within the last 400 years, Pundarikavittal, Anuparāja, Bhāvasimha, Aśōkamalla produced or encouraged the production of a number of minor treatises inculcating the latest developments during and subsequent to the fall the Mughal Empire whose popular tunes have lent grace to the *desi-ragas* championed by Matanga. The Muhammadan influence has not affected the Southern School. Even in *nṛtta* or dancing the same phenomenon is noted and the latest work which had assimilated the foreign postures and dances is Veda's *Sangitamakaranda*, quite a different work from its namesake purported to be of Nārada published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series. In the latter the name of *Mahamahēsvara* occurs which signifies Abhinavagupta.

Gandharvarāja of North India and Raghunāthaprasād wrote small treatises evincing critical acumen. The latter establishes that *Shadja* is the only *grama* discarding even *madhyama-grama*. About A. D. 1700 Jyotirmalla of Nēpal contributed to the Indian Music three works of ordinary merit. The progress of literature by music in several vernaculars, is of local interest and mostly found based on some Sanskrit works. Tamil Literature can boast of the great Agastya whose work on *Gandharva* is extinct. But the *abhinaya* poses quoted under Agastya in Tamil seem to be developments on Bharata's classification.

STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF RATNAMANI DEVI AT MUKHALINGAM.

SRI SRI SRI LAKSHMINARAYANA HARISCHENDRA
JAGADEV RAJA BAHADUR, RAJAH OF TEKKALI.

On a pillar in the entrance *mantapa* of the temple of *Madhukêśvara* at Mukhalingam, Parlākimedi Zamindari, Ganjam district, there is an inscription in ancient Oriya characters and language of *Jamma Ratnamani dēvi* of *Aṭṭagaḍa rāj* family in Ganjam. It was inscribed in nine lines. After the fourth line, there is inscribed the statue of *Kapilêśvara dēva* in his warrior dress. This *Ratnamani dēvi* of *Aṭṭagaḍarāj* family was the consort of *Sri Kapilêśvara Gajapati Mahārājah* who ruled over Southern India, including Gauda, Utkala, Kalinga, Karpāta, and Kalabarga. *Kapilêśvara Gajapati* was such a great king that to this day, in these parts, there is his *Śaka* or era known as '*Kapilābda*.' The above inscription was inscribed in *Śaka* 1376, (1454 A. D.). We can judge the literature of that time with the help of the language used by the people of that time. This inscription is published in Vol. V of the *South Indian Inscriptions*, where the reading is incorrect. The inscription is as given below:—

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. * ॐ श्री श्री श्री तेरष ¹ । | 10. द्विप धूपादि माहेरवर्च्य राहा। |
| 2. त छड उत्तर शप्तति ² । | 11. पूरन करिवा निमन्तेती नेज। |
| 3. मित शालिवाहन। | 12. आठगडपट्ट साहे वोङ्क (र*)। |
| 4. शक १३७६ सम्वत्सरे। | 13. जेम्मा श्री श्री श्री रत्नम्मो (मणी)। |
| ❀ | 14. देवो वालधूप यालिरे ⁷ । |
| 5. वोरश्री गजप्ती(पति)गउडेस्वर ³ प्रताप। | 15. त्रिकालसञ्जरे श्रीमधु। |
| 6. कपिलेस्वर ⁴ देव माहाराजाङ्क। | 16. लिङ्गरे शिव रात्रं ⁸ काले। |
| 7. र विजे रि (राइ) जेम्सस्त १४ आ। | 17. घेते ब्राह्म (ण) वोजे ⁹ । |
| 8. इ मनि सुकल ⁵ १३ सोम। | 18. हवे (हेवे) ताङ्कु अंशे पृथक ¹⁰ दे। |
| 9. वारे श्रीमधुकेस्वर ⁶ दे अङ्क (र*)। | 19. वा होलि ¹¹ । (*) |

TRANSLATION.

In *Śaka* 1376 and *Kapilêśvara dēv's* Era 24, in solar month of *Mīna*, bright fortnight, on 13th day, Monday, the daughter of *Aṭṭagaḍa Pāttro*, by name, *Ratnamani dēvi* ordered that one half of the sale

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|-----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Read <i>têraśa</i> | 3. " Ga-udêśvara | 5. Read <i>śukala</i> | 7. " <i>thalīru</i> |
| 2. " <i>saptati</i> | 4. " <i>Kapilêśvara</i> | 6. " <i>Madhukêśvara</i> | 8. " <i>Sivarātri</i> |
| 9. Read <i>vijé</i> | 10. " <i>prithak</i> | 11. " <i>hêlê</i> | |

* The Statue of *Kapilêśvara dēva* is carved out here,

proceeds of *Bāla-dhūpa-bhōga* of *Srī Madhukēśvara* be utilised for *Phūpa* and *Deepa* of the diety and the other half for the feeding of brahmans who come from a distance on the *Śivarātri* day.

In this inscription, it is stated that Ratnamani devi was the daughter of the then Raja of Aṭagaḍa but as no mention is made that she was the wife of Kapilēśvara, deva, people ignorant of Aṭagaḍa history may be led into confusion. So, it is necessary to give a brief account of the Aṭagaḍa history of this period.

In Śaka 1296, (1374 A. D.) Kulamani Nissanka Mangaraj Dev, the eighth ruler of Aṭagaḍa tract, ascended the throne. After he ruled for 15 years, Dhanurjaya Bhanj *alias* Kṛipāsindhu Bhanj of Ghumsur invaded Aṭagaḍa. Dhanurjaya Bhanj's troops fled from the battle-field as their Commander Jagumajhi Sāmanta, lost an eye on the field. On hearing of the retreat of his own troops, Dhanurjaya Bhanj, the ruler of Ghumsur ordered his officers to reduce Aṭagaḍa at any cost and announce his general Jagumajhi Samanta as the ruler of Aṭagaḍa. The strong army of Ghumsur attacked Aṭagaḍa at dead of night and drove away Kulamani Nissanka Mangaraj Dev and according to the instructions of the Ghumsur ruler, Sardar Jagumajhi Samanta was announced as the chief of Aṭagaḍa. He ruled from Śaka 1311 (1389 A. D.) to Śaka 1323 (1401 A. D.) by the name Kōna (blind) Jagumajhi. Kulamani Nissanka Mangaraj Dev, being driven away from his state, took refuge with all his family under Narasing dev IV, King of Orissa. He, being very much pleased with the good qualities and unrivalled skill of Kulamani Nissanka Mangaraj Dev in horse riding, appointed him as his body-guard. On many occasions also, Kulamani was bestowed with presents of honour for his meritorious deeds by the King. In saka 1323; (1401 A. D.) with the help of the King of Utkal, Kulamani Nissanka Mangaraj Dev invaded Aṭagaḍa. He beheaded the then ruler Kona Jagumajhi on the battle field and became the ruler of Aṭagaḍa, which he had once lost. He had three sons and one daughter. He had given his daughter Ratnamani devi in marriage to Kapilēśvara dēva, the then famous King of Utkal. (A. D. 1435 1446). He died in Śaka 1381 (1459 A.D.) His second son, Gopal Krishna Mangaraj Dev then became the ruler of Aṭagaḍa. Coming the subject proper of the inscription. This Ratnamani Devi, daughter of the then ruler of Aṭagaḍa, got her husband's statue carved in his kingly attire and inscribed beneath it the conditions of the grant. She was the prominent wife of Kapilēśvara Dēv in Kalinga Dandapat. I think, that most probably the previous and later Rani of Kalinga, after the domination of Kapilēśvara Dev, enjoyed and held the income of Madhukēśvar temple as their personal property. So the grantor, in the above pillar inscription, directed the free and proper disposal of the proceeds of the *bhōga*, offered to the above diety. This inscription might have been inscribed by Ratnamani Dēvi, queen of Kapilēśvara Dēv, during the reign of Kapilēśvara Dēva. Some of the terms of this grant are in force to this day.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE KANDREGULA FAMILY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

R. SUBBA RAO, M. A., L. T.

About forty original letters, copies of letters, *sannads* and Persian *firman*s, relating to the correspondence between the Honourable East India Company and the Rajah Kandregula Jogi Pantulu alias Srinivasa Jagannadha Rao Bahadur of Rajahmundry Circar and his successors have been placad at my disposal for the purpose of exhibiting them at the Exhibition of the Indian Historical Records Commission, held at Nagpur on 5th, 6th and 7th December 1928 and also for publication in the Journal of our Society. These documents belong to the period ranging from 1759 to 1806, and throw a flood of light on the political and economic conditions of the Northern Circars, the chaotic condition of the country and the consequent attempts made by the East India Company at seizing the power and wealth.

The original documents will be published in their chronological order with such notes as may be found necessary. A short account of the N. Circars and of the Relation of the East India Company with the Northern Circars in the first half of the 18th century, will be given at first so as to give an idea of the then condition of the Northern Circars. †

The N. Circars formed a part of the great Vijayanagar Empire till the battle of Tallikota in 1565. Owing to the victory gained by the Muhamadans then, the N. Circars passed into the hands of the Kutub Shahi dynasty of Golconda and remained under their sway for nearly a century. At the end of the reign of Abu Hussein Kutub Shah (1672—1688), Golkonda was taken by Aurangzeb in 1687 and made a part of the Moghal Empire. Henceforward Rajahmundry, and Chicacole Circars also passed under Moghul control. To rule over these newly conquered countries, Aurangzeb appointed a Viceroy or Subahdar of the Deccan. After Aurangzeb's death in 1707, the Moghal Empire began to decline and Kumruddin Asaf Ja who

† For preparing the account, I have consulted the Kaifiyats of Samalkot, Kimoor, Korukonda, Pusapati, (Vizianagaram), Mogaliturru, Kondavidu and Peddapura Charitra and Review thereon, as well as some Persian Firmans and Original letters of the times in English. The Kandregula family history and letters have also helped me in the matter.

remained a Viceroy under the Moghuls till 1723 became independent and ruled over the Deccan till 1743 A.D. with the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk. The Subah of Golkonda which comprised Arcot, Kurnool, Rajamundry and Chicacole Circars came under his control and he appointed Nawabs to rule over the several divisions. Anwaruddin was thus appointed as the Nawab of Rajamundry and Chicacole Circars. He, in his turn, appointed Rustumkhan as a general under him to collect the arrears of tribute from the several Zamindars of Rajamundry and Chicacole divisions. I have described elsewhere * the seven years' rule (1732—1739) of Rustumkhan over Godavari District. He was murdered for his cruel deeds, by his own son, Nuruddin Hussain who was appointed to collect arrears from both the Rajamundry and Chicacole (Kalingam) divisions. As he was proceeding to the north, Pusapati Peda Vijaya Rama Razu of Vizianagaram who heard of the base murder of Timma Razu of Peddapur and of the imprisonment of his minor son Jagapathy Razu, met him with a large force and defeated and killed him near Chebrole in the Gadavari District. He then brought up Jagapathy Razu along with his brother's son, Ananda Razu at Vizianagaram till, in 1749, he reinstated him as Raja of Peddapur with the permission of the Amindar, Nizamat Ally. But, on hearing this news, Jaffar Ally, the Nawab of Mustafanagar (Kondapalli), Ellore, Rajamundry and Chicacole Circars got angry and attacked the fort of Peddapur but in vain. It was at this time that, owing to the death of Asaf Jah, the first Nizam, in 1748, civil war broke out at Hyderabad between the Nizam's secondson, Nasar Jang and his nephew Mirjapha Jang. (Muzaffar). The two parties applied for help to the English and the French respectively. The war which ensued is known as the Second Carnatic war. (1748—1754). The defeat and death of Nasar Jang and the accession to the throne of Mirjapha Jang with the help of M. Dupleix and of the grant of the Circars lying to the South of the Krishna to Dupleix then took place. Mirjapha Jang did not live long after this and so the French General, Bussy proclaimed the third son of Asaf Jah, Salabat Jang by name, as the Subahdar of the Deccan. The latter therefore granted the N. Circars to the French so that with the revenues raised out of them they might maintain their troops (1752—1753). With a view to obtain possession of the newly ceded Circars, General Bussy deputed Mons. Morasin with a body of troops. But Jaffar Ally Khan who was governor of Rajamundry and Chicacole Circars refused to allow the French to take possession of them and persuaded the Zamindars of Vizianagaram and Bobbili, viz., Peda Vijayarama Gajapathi and Rangarao Bahadur respectively, to help him in his task. But Mons. Morasin secretly made a treaty

* Vide my article on the Persian Firman of Rustum Khan in this issue.

with the Zamindar of Vizianagaram by which he agreed to rent the two Circars of Rajamundry and Chicacole to him at a lower rate than before. On knowing this, Ranga Rao of Bobbili resolved to drive out the French at any cost. Meanwhile, Bussy on hearing of a Mahratta invasion reached Rajamundry in the middle of 1754 but soon after left for Aurangabad. However, he soon returned at the end of 1756 to Rajamundry with a view to put down the rebellious Zamindars and in particular, Bobbili.

From Rajamundry, he moved on against the Fort of Bobbili along with the forces of Peddapur and Vizianagar. In January 1757, the famous battle of Bobbili was fought in which both Rangarao and Vijaya Ramaraju were killed. On hearing this news, Vijaya Ramaraju's elder brother's son, by name Ananda Raju resolved to break off the treaty made with the French and to drive them out of N. Circars by inviting the English. He wrote to the English General, Robert Clive at Calcutta who sent Colonel Forde to help him. Both of them then entered into a treaty by which (1) All the countries which would be conquered in future should be handed over to the Raja of Vijayanagar for collecting rents. (2) All seaports and towns situated in the River mouths should be handed over to the English. (3) The Raja of Vizianagar should give to the English monthly a sum of a $\frac{1}{2}$ lakh of Rupees for maintaining the army and Rs. 6,000 towards expenses of officers. (4) The lands under the control of either party should not be sold or given away without the consent of both. (5) They should unite their armies and defeat the French and drive them out of N. Circars.

Having made this treaty, both the parties moved on towards Rajamundry but meeting the French troops under De Conflans, (the the successor of De Bussy who was transferred to Karnatic,) half way at Gollaprolu, fought a battle at Chendurthi or Kundur and defeated them in December 1758. Col. Forde pursued them to Rajamundry and taking that fort still further pursued them. At this time, Ananda Gajapathi of Vizianagar attacked the forts of Peddapur and Pittapur, then under the control of Jagapathi raju and Peda Mahipati and Neeladri Rayaningars respectively and subdued them. He then marched to Rajamundry and demanded that fort from the English but in vain. Then, he refused to fulfil the treaty obligations. Hence Col. Ford had to return to Rajamundry only to find Ananda Gajapati fleeing to the hills. It was at his juncture that John Andrews, captain of the troops of the E. I. Co. at Vizag was sent to negotiate with Ananda Gajapathi and he succeeded in effecting a compromise by which the E.I. Co. received a large amount (vide letter No. I printed below). Then, both Col. Forde and Ananda Gajapathi moved on to Ellore. From thence Col. Forde went and took Masulipatam from the French and

made a treaty with Salabat Jung by which the latter handed over Masulipatam and its neighbouring lands to the English and undertook to drive out the French from the country. In return, the English recognised his power over the N. Circars. Meanwhile, Aananda Gajapathi, returned to Samalkot and fought a battle at Undur against Jagapathi Raju of Peddapur and killed him. He took the forts of Pittapur, Samalcot and Peddapur but did not live long to enjoy the fruits of his labours. He died of small-pox at Rajamundry in April 1759. Then, Vijayaramaraju's wife Chandrayamma adopted a boy and named him Vijaya Ramaraju. At the same time, Jagapathi Raju's minor son, Timma IV was placed on the Peddapur throne (1760—1797). Meanwhile, on the death of Salabat Jang, the throne of Hyderabad passed into the hands of Mir Nizam Ally Khan (1761—1803), with a view to make good his claims on the Rajamundry and Chicacole Circars, he moved with a large army to Kovvur on the southern bank of the Godavari. There, he was met by the minor Rajahs of Peddapur, Pittapur and Vijayanagar who paid homage and agreed to pay the arrear tributes. In return, they were confirmed in their respective Zamin-daries. It was during the reign of this Nizam Ally Khan that the E. I. Co., made efforts to take for rent the Five Circars. Already, their settlements were established at many places. Originally, a Firman of Sultan Kutub Shah Abdulla of Golconda helped the E. I. Co., to settle at Masulipatam in 1611 and build their first factory on the east coast. A grant of land near Mylapore, made by the Vijayanagar Emperor enabled them to build Fort St. George in 1653. From this time onwards, more settlements were established along the east coast. With the establishment of the United East India Company in 1703, English trade and Settlements received great impetus. More factories were set up all along the East Coast.

After the town of Masulipatam was captured by the English in the year A. D. 1759, during the time of the Honorable George Pigot, Governor of Fort Saint George, and the Company's Officers entered into the Northern Circars, Jogee Pantulu and Venkatarayulu were employed as Interpreters to the Chief in Council, stationed at Masulipatam. At that time they used their best endeavour to put the Chiefs in possession of the past history and manners of the country.

In the year 1764, the Madras Government endeavoured to rent the Circars, 1. Kondavid or Murtujannagar, 2. Ellore, 3. Mustufanagar (Kondapalli.) 4. Rajahmundry, 5. Chikacole. On that occasion for negotiating matters with Nizam Ali Khan Jogee Pantulu was chosen and sent to Hyderabad in the same year, as an Ambassador on behalf of the Company, with requisite honours of rank suited for the purpose (vide letters Nos. 2, 3 and 4 below.) He was successful, and the Company obtained the Circars in rent.

At that time on Jogee Pantulu's laying before the Nizam his claims to succeed to the offices of Mazumdar and Sur Sheristadar of Rajahmundry Circars, formerly enjoyed by his maternal grandfathers (Jillella family) the Nizam was pleased to restore him, as well as his two brothers (Ramjee and Venkatrayulu) to the said offices by means of a fresh Sanud, and conferred on Jogee Pantulu the titles of "*Rajah* and *Bahadur*".

The above grant was confirmed by the Honorable Company by means of a Sunnud of the President and Council of Fort Saint George.

By virtue of the Sunnud of the Nizam, and the orders of the Government of Fort Saint George, the several Zamindars in the Northern Circars restored to Jogee Pantulu all the Roosoams, Savarans, Rent villages, Cocanut and beetlenut gardens, Inams, &c., appertaining to the above offices in their respective Estates; and yielding an annual income of about 30,000 Pagodas. In addition to the above, Jogee Pantulu used to rent some villages, and also in some years the Divi Purganah, from the Government, who reposed in him especial trust and confidence in consideration of the allegiance and steady attachment, which he manifested to the Honorable East India Company.

About the year 1772, Jogee Pantulu died. His younger brother Venkatarayulu succeeded him in the office of Muzumdar and Sur Sheristadar in the year 1773, and continued in it till 1778 when the offices in question were abolished as useless to Government, and the lands and fees, villages &c, pertaining thereto were returned to the respective Zamindars. In compensation for the loss thereby sustained, an allowance of 10,000 Pagodas a year was ordered to be paid to Venkatarayulu from the Company's treasury.

Venkatrayulu subsequently brought to the notice of the Madras Government the injustice done to him in abolishing the offices of Mazumdar and Sur Sheristadar. The Government taking into consideration the long and faithful services of his family to the Company, re-instated him in his former stations of Sur Sheristadar and Muzumdar, and granted him the necessary Sannad and Cowle in the year 1781.

The Chief and Council at Masulipatam in obedience to the orders contained in para 2 of the above order of Government tried their best to induce the Zamindars to restore to Venkatrayulu the several emoluments of his office, but this does not appear to have been effected, owing to the refusal of some of them. Hence, Venkatrayulu received 10,000 Pagodas per annum till he died,

After the death of Venkatrayulu the above allowance of 10,000 Pagodas a year was paid for several years to his nephew Juggappa Pantulu, who taking advantage of the minority of his uncle's (Venkatrayulu's) sons, Gopalrao &c, appropriated the Allowance to himself, usurped their rights, and dissipated the large property of the family and by his extravagance and misconduct fell into deep arrears of rent of the Divi Purgannah to the Company, who were consequently induced to stop the Pension.

Afterwards the distressed situation of the family attracted the commiseration of the Court of Directors, who were pleased to give orders to the Madras Government that Juggappa Pantulu should be made to account with Gopalrao for the property he had taken; but the whole was already dissipated, and therefore through compassions a pension of Pagodas 150 per month was granted to Gopalrao for maintaining himself and his family.

About the year 1804, the said Gopalrao brought his family circumstances to the notice of the then Governor, the Honorable Lord Bentinck. In the year 1805 the Government were pleased to grant him the Divi Estate, then remaining unsold, in consideration of his acquirements and respectability, and directed the discontinuance of the pension of 150 Pagodas, in commutation of which the estate was given from the date of his taking charge thereof.

In the year 1806, the Estate was made over to Gopalrao on a permanent Beriz of Star Pagodas 13,632 or Rupees 47,887, together with a permanent cowle for the same,

No. I.

శ్రీ రామా

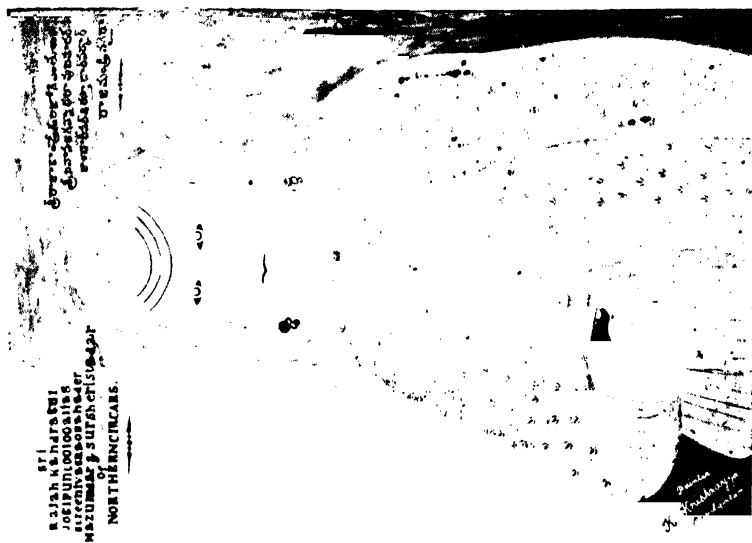
బహుగౌరవము సంహృత్సర ఫాల్గుణ బలి ౮ బు|| నాడు రాజశ్రీ రావుమహీపతి
రాయనిగార్కి తపాయకుమరిపహాలు బాపకు అవాలేదస్తుగా హాసబాయకు. అసాకు,
శింయోకు మేస్తరు జాను అంశీకు కవితాను కలానులులగ్గవే మాకాచిద్దరు విశాఖపట్నంగార
వ్రాయించి యిచ్చిన రసీదు. శ్రీగజపతిరాజాగారు కర్నూలు ఫోర్డ్ గార్కి మీమిదను వ్రాయించిన
బగారం మ|| మానుమాస్తా కాండ్రేగుల తెగ్గప్ప మారిఫత్తువను x ౫౦౦ అక్షరాల
యేమారువరహాలు యిస్తరి గన్కు మాకు ముట్టెను. మార్చి 21, 1759

JOHN ANDREWS.

“నీలాది రాయనిగారి కితాను x ౫౦౦ రసీదు” అని చెందవప్రక్కను వ్రాయబడియున్నది



Sri Raja Kândrêgula Srinivasa Jagannâdha Rao Garu,
Zamindar of Gajjaram and the present descendant of Raja Uçce Pantulu.



Sri Raja Kândrêgula Jôgi Pantu'u Garu,
Muzundar and Gut Sherishtedar of the Rajahmundry Circar.

TRANSLATION, (Observe)

Receipt granted by Master John Andrews, Captain of forces (of the East India Company) at Vizagapatam, to Rajah Sree Rao Mahipati Rayaningaru, (Zamindar of Pittapuram):—

We have received (500) Five hundred Gold Pagodas paid through our clerk Candregula Jaggappa,¹ being the amount drawn on you by (Ananda) Gajapathy Razu (Zamindar of Vijayanagar) towards dues to Col. Forde.

TRANSLATION (Reverse).

Receipt for 500 Gold Pagodas towards the account of Neeladri Rayaningar (Guardian and paternal uncle of Rao Mahipati).

LETTER NO. 2.

FROM

ROBERT PALK, GOVERNOR OF FORT. ST. GEORGE.

TO

CONDREGULA JOGI PUNTOOLOO

Upon the recommendation of Mr. Pybus, you are appointed to proceed to Nizam Ali's Court, and to negotiate with him regarding the Company's renting the Circars of Ellore, Mustaphau Nuggur,² Rajamundry, Murtsan Nuggur³ and Chicakole, for which purpose you are carefully to observe the instructions now laid down for your conduct.

On your arrival there, you will present to Nizam Ali and his Dewan, the letters addressed to them from me and Mr. Pybus, as also the presents that may be delivered to you.

As soon as you are able to procure a favorable opportunity of entering upon the matter of your negotiations with Nizam Ali, you will inform him of my desire of renting the Circars on the Company's account for any number of years, and that I will engage to pay annually into his treasury with sure security such certain sum as shall be agreed on.

Though he may be inclinable to hearken to our proposals, it is most likely that his demands will at first be very extravagant. It must therefore be your business to prevail on him, to lower them as much as

1 First appointed as Dubash or Dvibāshi or Interpreter by the English in 1759 he rose to the high offices of Muzumdar and Sur Sheristadar of Rajahmundry Circar.

2 Same as modern Kondapalli on the N. G. S. Ry.

3 Same as modern Kondaveedu in Guntur Dt. First given by Nizam Salabat-Jangin 1752 to the French, it was later on given by his brother and successor, Nizam Ally in 1766 to his brother Basalet Zang as Lifo Jageer. Finally, it was handed over to the English in 1788, though the four N. Circars were given to them in 1769,

possible, by representing to him the small advantages he has received from these Circars or can expect, from their troubled and unsettled state, the considerable Force, length of time and great expense that will be required to reduce them to due subjection, and the number of troops that must continually be maintained to keep them in order, that Rajamundry must be regularly besieged, and the little probability there is of the Company's having any profits for the Circars of Chicakole and Murtsan Nuggur, which are the two most considerable on account of the former being possessed by ViziamRauz⁴ and the latter by Basalt Zung, who are both very powerful and will no doubt exert themselves to the utmost to prevent their being reduced to Nizam Ali's obedience; with patience, time and a proper force, the Chicakole Circar may be settled; but with respect to Basalt Zung's Jageer, it were better this could be accomodated by the Soubah himself, by giving him some other country, as the Company would willingly avoid engaging in disputes with any of his family, but should the Soubah continue to insist on his brother's giving up the Circar in question without alternative, we will endeavour to oblige him. You are in short, to make use of every argument, which you shall think, may induce him to let them at the most reasonable terms.

If Nizam Ali should seem willing to enter into these measures you are authorized to offer him five lacs of Rupees down at the delivery of the Sannad, and ten lacs more if absolutely required in the course of the first year; and fifteen lacs more for every year after, to be paid into his treasury in Soucar Bills, free of all deduction, so long as the Company shall rent them; this is the most we can authorize you to offer and the lower you can reduce the better, the more agreeable they will be to us. At first, you are only to offer five lacs in ready money for the first year; afterwards as you see necessary, you may add five lacs more to be paid in the course of the year, and not exceed that sum, but as occasion may require, all the above sums must be stipulated to be paid in Madras Pagodas at the rate of 4 Rupees per Pagoda.

You may represent to him this is much more than he has ever received clear from the Revenues of these Districts, and though others may make him larger offers, he must be well acquainted from long experience, what little dependence is to be placed on their promises; or how little able they are in comparison with the Company to support his authority in these countries; that he will have no trouble in settling with the deceitful Zamindars and Renters, but will be at a certainty with regard to his annual income from this part of his extensive dominions.

4 This prince was the second of the name who was adopted by Rani Chandra yamma, (wife of Peda Vijaya Ramaraz who was killed in the battle of Bobbili in 1757) after the death of Anandarazu at Rajahmundry in 1760.

Sensible of the influence that ready money has in negotiation of this nature, you will have sent, in due time, your Bills for the five lacs of Rupees or Pagodas 1,25,000, which we purpose paying one month after the delivery of the Sannads, and as it will be necessary to gain over his Dewan to our interest, you are empowered to offer him a lac of Rupees or Pagodas 25,000, on his getting this affair settled, a Bill for which will also be sent you.

I need not say how necessary it is that these your instructions should be kept a profound secret.

Mr. Pybus will take care, that you are fitted out in a proper manner and that all your necessary expenses are defrayed.

You will inform him from time to time of the progress you make in your negotiations, in which I wish you success.

FORT SAINT GEORGE, }
13th November 1764. }

Yours &c.,

(Signed) ROBERT PALK.

LETTER No. 3.

TO CONDREGULOO JOGGEE PUNTALOO

The Resident and Council of *Fort St. George*, having thought it necessary to despatch a person to Nizam Ally's Court in quality of their *Vakeel*, to enter upon a negotiation with him on the subject of renting these Countries on account of the Company and having on my Recommendation appointed you for this service, I herewith deliver you the President's Instructions to you, for your Guidance in the management of Business you are employ'd on; which as I have very particularly explained them to you, and you have taken a Gentoo^s Translate of them for the better understanding their full force and meaning, I make no doubt but you will pay the most exact attention to them and that your utmost Endeavours and Care will be employed to execute the Trust reposed in you to their Satisfaction. I likewise deliver you two Letters from the President to Nizam Ally and Ruckunud Dowlah, on the subject of the Commission you are charged with, and two others from myself to the same Effect, which you will be careful to present to them as soon as may be convenient after your arrival in Camp, and as it is customary upon the first Introduction to the *Subha* and frequently on other Occasions to present him with some Pieces of Money, you will now receive thirty Gold Mohurs, to be disposed in this manner as you may judge proper. You should likewise have been furnished with other considerable Presents both for the *Subah* and his *Dewan*

on an Occasion of this nature, but as they could not be conveniently sent from Madras at this season of the year, and were not procurable here, I have packed up a few Pieces of Velvets, Broad-cloth and Silks into two small Parcels which must serve for the present Purpose and which you will deliver on your first visit. The accompanying List of the Particulars will direct you in the Disposal of them.

I shall now proceed to recommend to your attention and observance some few Points which, should you be likely to succeed in your negociation, ought well to be considered and settled before any conclusive agreement is made.

You are no stranger to the Report which has lately prevailed among the soucars here (with what Truth is uncertain) that Hussain Ally Cawn⁶ is appointed *Amuldar*⁷ of the two Circars of Ellore and Mustaphanagur, that Sannads in his Name were actually despatched from Court, and are now in the Hands of the soucar who has been assisting in obtaining them for him, That he had advanced to the *Subah* a considerable sum of Money on this Occasion and made large Presents to his Dewan for engaging him in his Interest; That he has sent his Officers into these countries who are now taking measures for settling the Rents of them, and whose authority some of the Zamindars have already acknowledged—is beyond doubt. It is therefore more than probable that his appointment of *Amuldar* has been confirmed from Court; In this case, 'tis not unlikely but some Objections may be made by the Dewan to the letting out the two Circars above mention'd to the Company at least for the present year, fearing he should be obliged to refund the Present he may have received from Hussain Ally: But unless these two Circars are included you are by no means to enter upon a negociation for renting the other three, and in answer to any Difficulties the Dewan may make on this subject you may propose to deduct the Money which may have been paid by Hussain Ally to the Subah and him (the Dewan) from the Payments to be made within the year for the Rent that may be agreed on for the five Circars, engaging that the payment shall be faithfully paid by us to Hussain Ally provided he shall not have collected more than that sum from the Countries, before we are put in Possession of them, in which case, the surplus is likewise to be allowed us out of the annual rent agreed on. The same Rule is to be observed relating to any other Presents which Hussain Ally Cawn may have made to other Officers belonging to the Court, should the Dewan insist on their being repaid.

6 He was the rentor of Kistna and Godavari Districts, from 1764 to 1769 when the English chiefs and Councils succeeded him to power.

7 Rentor of divisions appointed by Nizam.

As the season is now advancing for making Collections from the Country and it may be sometime before the negociation you are employed on is concluded, you are to be mindful to insist upon a Deduction being made from the Rent we may agree to take the five Circars at, for all monies which Sitharamarauze may have collected from the Circar of Rajahmundry, and all monies which the Amuldar or Renter acting for Bazalet Zung may have collected from the Circar of Mustaphanagur for the present year, before the Saneds for those Countries are delivered here or at Fort St. George accompanying which you must be careful to see that the proper Orders to the several Zamindars for paying due Obedience to the Company's Authority are likewise forwarded.

Should you find the Dewan inclined to enter into your Proposals and that you have hopes of succeeding in the negociation you are employ'd on, you must insist upon no *Zagaier* Grants being allowed out of the Countries to be rented by the Company and that no other allowances of any kind whatever are to be made from the Produce of them, but on account of such Charity Grounds as may for a length of years, have been appropriated for the use of Pagodas or other such like Purposes and the usual Fees to the Despondies, Muzumdars⁸ Desmooks and Zamindars according to the established and well known customs of the Country.

You will likewise be mindful to observe that we consent to take the Countries to rent on the following Conditions only: That the Company shall be allowed to remove, turn out or entirely dispossess, any Zamindar that may be troublesome, refractory or rebellious or refuse to be accountable regularly for the Rents of the Countries under his Jurisdiction. That they shall be at Liberty to let such Countries as may be now held by Zamindars to other Renters if they see proper, and to place their Troops in any Fort or Forts. Place or Places in any of the five Circars as they may judge necessary for the better managing and keeping the Countries in order. Upon the most faithful Promise of delivering them up again to such Person or Persons as may be appointed by the Soubah to receive them, at the Expiration of the Term of years, the Countries may be let to us for.

I herewith deliver you a Letter of Credit on Jay Kistna Davy, a principal soucar residing at Hydrabad for three thousand Madras Pagodas for defraying your Expenses in Camp and for making the customary Presents (should you succeed in your Business) to the Secretaries and other servants of the Court, in doing of which you will

⁸ Revenue Collectors appointed by Nizam, corresponding to modern District Collectors. They were enjoying, by virtue of their offices, certain fees, lands and villages granted by the several Zamindars under their jurisdiction.

be guided by the Opinion and advice of the Dewan; You will give Receipts to the soucar Gomasta for the Money you receive and be careful to keep an exact account in what manner it is disbursed. You are put to no allowance for your Expenses depending on your Prudence that they be as moderate as possible for your travelling Charges to Hyderabad. I now advance you one hundred Madras Pagodas.

You will receive two Letters of Recommendation from Me to two of the principal soucars at Hyderabad by name Ragonada Doss and Jay Kistna Davy wherein I have engaged in the Name of and on Behalf of the Company to be responsible to them for and abide by any agreements or Engagements you may enter into with them should you find it necessary to employ them in the Business you are sent upon; I mean in furnishing such security as shall be approved of by the Subah, for the Payment of the sum agreed on at the stipulated time after the delivery of the Saneds and for the other Payments to be made within the year, Either for one year or for any term of years the Countries shall be let us for, which you must endeavour to obtain grants of for five years at least if possible, but you are on no account to enter into any agreement for them for less than three years without further Orders—You will very soon after your arrival in Camp be able to find which of the two soucars above mention'd is the most in Repute, and transacts the most Business at Court and him I would advise you to cultivate an Intimacy and Connection with and give him hopes of being employ'd should you succeed in your Business which his Credit and Influence may possibly be assisting in. Some consideration is usually allowed to soucars who undertake Business of this nature but as there will be no Risque attending their engaging to be responsible to the soucar for the Company, as the Payments will be punctually paid to their Gumastahs here, I imagine you may settle with them on very reasonable Terms, particularly if you can agree for making the Payments at Hyderabad, which is a point you must by all means endeavour at, as it would not only be very expensive but inconvenient to make them elsewhere.

As it is not improbable but that the agents of Hussain Ally Cawn at Court, may have engaged to pay Ruckunud Dowlah the Dewan, a certain sum of Money yearly, exclusive of the Present made him on obtaining the saneds, who may on that account be unwilling to favour your negotiation, not choosing to give up the Advantages which Hussain Ally Cawn may have promised him: You will be mindful to make it your Business to endeavour to learn whether any such Promises have been made him or not, and should you find the case to be as I have supposed, and have reason to think his Interest is no otherwise to be engaged in our Behalf, than by agreeing to pay him a certain yearly consideration from these Countries, exclusive of

the Present you are authorised to make him on obtaining the Saneds you may engage that he shall receive the yearly sum of fifty thousand rupees or 12,500 Madras Pagodos, for as many years as the Countries are let to us at rent, after the first two years (which the Lac of Rupees or 25,000 Madras Pagodas to be paid him on receiving the Saneds are to be taken and considered as in Payment for). That is to say, if the Countries are let to us for three years only, he will have fifty thousand Rupees or 12,500 Madras Pagodas more to receive, at the expiration of the three years; and if we rent the Countries for five years, he will be entitled to one Lac fifty thousand Rupees, or 37,500 Madras Pagodas more to be paid him at fifty thousand rupees yearly after the Expiration of the second year. But you are to perceive that no Offer or Proposal of this sort is to be made him unless you find his Interest is by no other mens to be engaged to assist in forwarding your Negociation.

The Sepoys and others appointed to attend you are to continue with you while on this service and must be allowed the usual Batta. The Persianese Linguist accompanies you to assist in your negociation, whose travelling charges you are to defray. You will constantly advise me of your Proceedings and as the Business you are now sent upon is of much Consequence I would recommend to you to write your letters both in Gentoo and English that your meaning may not be mistaken or misunderstood. Four Slircarrahs accompany you as Guides on the Road and for bringing advices from you. If more should be necessary when you are in camp you may employ them. I cannot too much recommend to your attention and observance the Instructions you have received from the President of Fort St. George for your guidance in this Business in which I very heartily wish you success. Dated in Masulipatam, this 24th day of November, 1764.

(Sd.) JOHN PYBUS,

LETTER. No. 4.
MASULIPATAM, *17th December 1764.*

JUGGOO,

I have received your letter of the 3rd from Anto Pamola, and expect every day to hear of your arrival at the Subah's Camp. Should Nizam Ally say anything on the Subject of the Chicacole Rajah's Old Balance, and of the Money he may have collected form the Circar of Rajahmundry, and propose that the English should take upon them to settle accounts with him, you must answer that you have no Power to talk upon that Business, but that it is your opinion the English would not be answerable for any old Balances nor take upon

them to recover them for the Circar and that you believe Sitaramrazus has got no money left, but has spent it all in Sibbendy Charges. You should take all Opportunities of representing to Ruckunud Dowla and the Subah, Sittaramrauzu's bad behaviour, and let them know that he is now fighting upon the Fort of Peddapore and that it is necessary the Business you are sent on should be finished as soon as possible to prevent that Man's getting Possession of any more Forts, as it will cost a great deal of time and much Money to take them from him again.

In my Instructions to you I have directed you to endeavour to get grants of the Countries for 5 years, if possible, but you must try all you possibly can to get them for seven years and do not make any agreement for a less number of years without further orders; you need not make any mention about the turning out of troublesome Zamindars and Letting out their Countries to other People to rent if the English see proper, unless the Subah should insist upon having all the Zamindars continued in Possession of the Countries they now have. In this case you must write for further orders. I have ordered Tappies to be placed on the road between this Place and Bidder, that your Letters may be convey'd to me with the greater dispatch, and as the Governor and Council of Madras want to know, which are the most proper Places for putting Tappies at, all the way to Bombay, and which the best Road, you will make very particular Enquiry as to the distance between Bidder and Bombay, which is the best road, and where would be the most proper Places for stationing Tappies at between that Place and Bombay, let me know as soon as you possibly can. You will be careful to keep an exact account of every Day's Journey you make, to take down the names of every Village and Town you pass through on the Road, and the distance they are at, one from the other, with a description of those Places that are most remarkable in your Journey and have good Choultry's Tanks or other Conveniences for lodging of Travellers, or accomodating a Body of Troops should they march that way. I wish you success and shall be glad to hear of your safe arrival in Camp, Keep a Journal of your Proceedings and let me hear from you, when you have anything of Consequence to write about.

I am, very much Your Friend

(Sd.) JOHN PYBUS

9 A ruler of Vizianagaram and a brother of Vijaya Ramaraju I who exacted such heavy rents from ryots that they fled to Peddapur. He usurped the throne and got Rani Chandrayamma killed. He was the de-facto Ruler while Vijaya Ramaraju II remained a prisoner. Seetaramaraju conquered Brungavarapukota, Madugula, Kasimkota and Rajahmundry and held sway over the Chicacole Circar. He also obtained a Firmans from the Maharatta ruler of Nagpur to collect rents from Bastar. The English finally succeeded in ousting him from renting the Chicacole Circar

KOMMU-CHIKKALA PLATES OF ANAVOTU REDDI DATED S. S. 1344.

BHAVARAJ V. KRISHNA RAO, B.A., B.L.

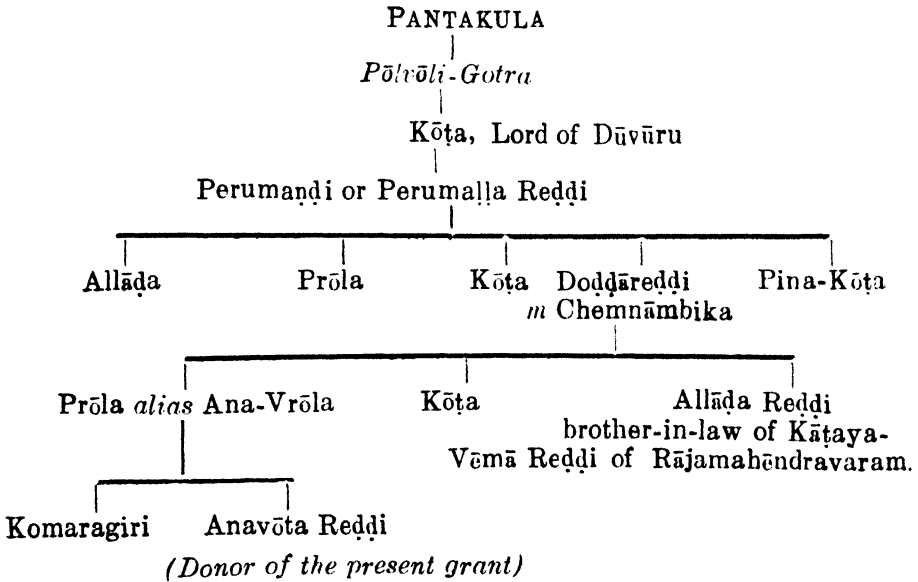
The discovery of these plates was brought to my notice last year about this time by my friend Mr. Suri Rajagopalam of Nidadavole in the course of our casual conversation on the work of the Society. I then requested him to secure for me either the plates themselves or ink impressions thereof. And in accordance with my request he obtained for me estampages of the plates prepared by a friend of his and with the help of them I edit the inscription in this Journal. My friend tells me that the original plates are in the possession of their owner Mr. Pemmaraju Anjaneyulu, Karnam of Kommuchikkala, a village near Palakole, West Godavari District. These plates are said to have been discovered in the village of Kommu-Chikkala some years ago, and their present owner could not give me further particulars regarding their discovery.

These plates are four in number and contain writing on both sides. Except the last two plates which contain four and seven lines respectively on their second sides the remaining plates contain 14 to 16 lines on each side. The plates have raised rims and are large in size measuring roughly 10" by 5½". The ring and the seal could not however be examined as they were said to have been lost long long ago.

The inscription is partly in Sanskrit prose and poetry the metre employed being largely the *anustup* and partly in Telugu. The Sanskrit is faultless and the poetry good. The Telugu portion of the inscription (ll. 59—65) contains the boundaries of the village granted. The alphabet employed is Telugu which closely resembles the modern characters except for some peculiarities of orthographical interest which deserve some notice. They are for instance, (a) letters *ḍ*, *ḷ*, *ṣ*, *ṭ* and a few others, present still some older forms; (b) In such conjunct consonants such as *ṅga* etc., the *anusvāra* is used instead of the proper nasal; (c) the *anusvāra* is improperly used in some places; e.g. *Namnāryā*, *Chennāmbika* etc. where the letter following the *anusvāra* should have been doubled. (d) The letter *bha* and *ba* are not properly distinguished from one another as there is no vertical stroke at the bottom of the former; (e) Conjunct

consonants like *rya*, *ryo*, and *rva* are expressed as in modern Telugu by the full form of *ra* to which the secondary form of *ya* or *va* is attached. (ll. 8, 10, 11 and 18.) (f) The *ṛ* in *nairṭi* (1.60) has a top stroke.

As may be seen from the abstract of contents below, the inscription contains the following pedigree¹ of a collateral branch of the Reddi chiefs of Rājamahēndravaram, the existence of which is not known before. The donor of the plates, Anavōtu or Anavōta Reddi is the second son of Prōla Reddi, the eldest brother of Allāḍa Reddi whom we know from *Kāśikhaṇḍam* and the Konkuduru Plates of Allayā-Dodḍa.¹ as the founder as the short lived Reddi dynasty of Rājamahēndravaram.



In none of the inscriptions of the Reddi kings of Rajahmundry or in the works of *Kaṣikhandam*, *Bhīmakhandam* or *Śivalīlāvilāsam* written under the patronage of the Reddi sovereigns of Rājahān-dravaram the branch of Ana-Vrōla, brother of Allāda Reddi has been mentioned. This is the first occasion that this branch comes to notice. No doubt Komaragiri and his brother Anavotu are mentioned in an inscription on a pillar in the temple of Śṛṅgārāyā in Tirupati, in Peddapuram Taluk, East Godavari District along with Vamāreddi and Vīrabhadra Reddi but they were not referred to specifically as the children of Ana-Vrōla Reddi but mentioned as the sons of Allāda Reddi himself. As poet-laureate Śrīnātha or any record known to us till now has not mentioned these two princes Komaragiri and

Anavōtu as the sons of Allāḍa Redḍi it was indeed a matter of great surprise and interest to see how these princes came to be regarded as the sons of Allāḍa Redḍi. But the discovery of the present grant happily clears the doubt and we see that these princes Komaragiri and Anavōtareddi were the sons of Prola or Ana-Vrola, the eldest brother of Allāḍa Redḍi and that was the reason for their being mentioned as such. I quote below the relevant portion of the above inscription for the benefit of the readers. The inscription could not be, says the Editor of the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. V., read correctly owing to its being built up into the wall and thus demolished. It is interesting however, to note that it is dated in cyclic year Sobhakrit and Saka year 1345, which is roughly one year later than the date of the subjoined grant which was issued in Saka 1344 which might correspond to the cyclic year Subhakrit.

A. R. No. 497 of 1893 : No. 104 of *South Indian Inscriptions*. Vol. V.

“స్వస్తి* శకసంవత్సరము ౧౩౪౫ అగునంటి శోభకృత్ సంవత్సర పుష్య
బ ౧౦ మ (*) నాంటి మకరసంక్రమణ పుణ్యకాలమందును శ్రీంగార రాయ
స్మి బాబూంగారి (?) (ప్రో)కు లల్లారెడ్డిగార్కిని ఆకుమారులు కుమరయ్యగార్
ర్కిన్ని వెమారెడ్డింగార్కిన్ని పేరారెడ్డింగార్కిన్ని పేరారెడ్డింగారి దేవులు అని
తల్లంమ్మంగార్కిన్ని బాబూంగార్కిన్ని సుకృతంగా... ..

The present inscription consists of two parts. The first part of it deals with the grant of an *agrahāra* to a brahman, Pinnaya son of Singaya and grandson of Singaya, who was known as a *daivaājña* and a great exponent of *Jyōtisha sūtra*. He belonged to the *Kāśyapa gōtra* and was known as *Śakuna brahmā*, *Jyōtirmārga-nirargalah* and *Bandhuchintāmaṇi* and the second part relates to the regrant of the *agrahāra* to as many as twenty five brahmans of different *gōtras*, who were all well-versed in various sastras and vedas, by the donee Pinnaya Bhaṭṭa, by dividing it into fifty shares. The earlier or the first part of the inscription dealing with the grant to the *daivaājña* Pinnaya appears to be complete while the portion recording the regrant after dividing it into fifty shares to several brahmans seems to be incomplete. The latter begins rather abruptly without mentioning the occasion or the time of the distribution of the *agrahāra* and it does not also appear whether the original donee enjoyed the *agrahāra* even for a time. But the title *Bandhuchintāmaṇi* seems to suggest that, no sooner had he received the grant from the king than he distributed it among his kith and kin by dividing it into fifty shares. The original grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the śaka year expressed in words, *vēda*=4, *ambudhi*=4, *guṇa*=3 and *sasi*=1, 1344, =corresponding to A. D. 1422-3. The cyclic

year appears to be *Subhakti* as we can find it out from the contemporary records of these princes referred to above. As no further details of the month or the day on which the eclipse was visible are given it is impossible to determine the exact date of the grant. The grant was made for the merit of the king's (Anavōta Reddi) brother Komaragiri who appears to have died by that time for reference is made to him in the grant in past tense as having already 'ruled the earth.' But in view of the inscription found at Tirupati in the temple of *Srngarāya* it seems doubtful. The grant was issued from the king's residence at Kshirārāma and it is indeed curious to note that the donor who is not an independent king but a subordinate of Allada Virabhadrā Reddi gave away the grant without mentioning any thing about his master or without obtaining his previous permission which is necessary for making grants of this nature by the subordinate chiefs. But it may be assumed that the brothers Anavota and Komaragiri, though children of Prola were treated by Allāda Reddi as his own children and the brothers Vēma and Virabhadrā who were *de facto* rulers of the *Rajamahendravara rajya* did not pay much attention to the formality of according sanction to their cousin's making a grant of an *agrahāra* in his principality. It might also be assumed that this grant had the approval and sanction of the king Virabhadrā Reddi though it is not so mentioned. The village granted is Chikkala situated at a distance of a *yōjana* to the west of Gautami to the north of Kshirārāma, the modern Palakollu (Palakole) in the Vānārasīma. The village was converted into an *agrahara* and renamed as *Prōlaya-Komaragiripura Chikkāla* after his brother Komaragiri but somehow the village has not retained its new name but came to be called as Kommu-Chikkala which may be taken as an abbreviation of the name Komaragiri-Chikkala.

The donor Anavōtu is said to be a worshipper of Markandeya at Rajamahendranagari, on the banks of the river Godavari. He appears to have been a *Mahāmandalēśvara* ruling over the Vānārasīma, which roughly corresponds to the eastern half of the present West Godavari District. Both Anavōtu and his elder brother Komaragiri are described as great warriors who distinguished themselves in several battles by means of their valour and strength. They are also said to be greatly attached to one another and the poet compares them to the puranic princes Rama and Saumitri. There is a faint suggestion that Komaragiri the brother of the donor, died on the battle field. Anavotu bears all the Reddi titles such as *Rāya-vēsyabhujanga*, *Vasantarāya*, *Viranārāyana* and *Vairikula Parasurama*.

The grant is composed by Śrī Vallabha son of Lakshmi and Śrī Vallabha of Kaṇvaḡōṭra and signed by the donor, Anavōtu.

NOTES OF THE LAST QUARTER.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE 8th ANNUAL MEETING OF THE GENERAL BODY OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.

The meeting was held in the Society's Hall, Kaky's Upstairs, Innespeta, at 7 --30 A.M. on Sunday, 7th April, 1929.

M. R. Ry. S. Bhimasankara Rao Pantulu Garu, B.A., Vice-President, presided on the occasion in the unavoidable absence of the President, M. R. Ry. J. Ramayya Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L.

The following members were present.

Messrs. C. Atmaram

M. Subbarayudu

K. Iswara Dutt

N. Venkatramayya

N. Kameswara Rao

P. Bhadrappa

K. Vajjhalu

A. Sankara Rao

C. Venkata Rao

R. Subba Rao

C. Brahmanandamurty

V. Appa Rao

D. V. Krishna Rao

D. Sriramamurty

K. Sitarama Rao

A. Suryanarayana

S. Bhimasankara Rao (*in the chair*)

The President in opening the proceedings called upon the Secretary to read the Annual Report. It was read and adopted unanimously. Then the Treasurer presented the Statement of expenditure and receipts which was approved. Then the Library report was read and passed.

The following resolutions were then passed.

1. Resolved to add the following as rule 11 (a) :—

"The subscription is payable in advance at the beginning of the Official Year, i.e., on the first of April."

2. Resolved to elect Rao Bahadur D. LAKSHMINARAYANA PANTULU GARU Kampti, Central Provinces, as a Patron of the Society.

3. Resolved to elect the following Office-bearers for the year 1929—1930.

President: J. RAMAYYA PANTULU, B.A., B.L.

Vice-President: P. BHADRAYYA, M.A., L.T.

Secretary: R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

Treasurer: N. KAMESWARA RAO, B.A., B.L.

Librarian: B. V. KRISHNA RAO, B.A., B.L. *

Members of the Council:

S. BHIMA SANKARA RAO PANTULU, B.A.,

A. SANKARA RAO, B.A., L.T.

A. SURYANARAYANA, B.A., B.L.

V. JAGANNADHA RAO, M.A., L.T.

In the evening at 6 P.M. a public meeting was held in the Hindu Samaj Hall with Mr. P. BHADRAYYA, M.A., L.T. (Vice-President) in the chair.

Several members of the Society and the public attended the meeting.

Mr. A. Hanumachchastri, M.A., B.Ed. read a paper on *Vāsireddiyan*, a historical work dealing with the history of the Vāsireddi family of the Krishna District.

Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T. read a paper on the Madras Museum Plates of Indravarma Dēva.

Then some discussion followed.

The President in winding up the proceedings of the day reviewed the work of the Society during the last year and thanked the several office-bearers for their strenuous and earnest work.

With a vote of thanks to the chair the meeting came to a close.

* Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao having resigned his Librarianship Mr. A. Suryanarayana, B.A., B.L. was elected by the Council in his place at its meeting held on 15—4—1929.

THE 8TH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.

For the year 1928-1929, Read and adopted on 7-4-29,

The Council of the Society has great pleasure in presenting the following Report of the Society's work during the year 1928-1929:-

At the last Annual Meeting of the Society held on 7-4-28 Office-Bearers were elected, after adoption of the Annual Reports presented by the Secretary, the Treasurer and the Librarian. Certain amendments of the Rules were also made. Sri Sri Sri Raja Ramachandra Deo Bahadur Varu, the Maharaja of Jeypore was elected as a patron of the Society. A public meeting was held in the evening at which several papers of historical interest were read.

During the course of the year, Rao Bahadur D. Lakshminarayana Garu of Kampti, C. P., was pleased to give his consent to be a Patron of the Society, and so the Council elected him as a Patron. The Council also elected Messrs. Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao Pantulu and Manavilli Ramakrishna Kavi M.A., as Honorary Members of the Society.

MEMBERS.

The number of Ordinary Members on 1-4-1929 stands at 193 as compared with 197 on 1-4-1928. The number of resident members fell from 60 to 56. It is a matter of great regret that one moffussil member, Mr. I. Kanakachalam Pantulu, M. A., L. T., who was a member of the Kalinga Editorial Committee passed away during the year after a brief illness. The Council notes with concern that membership has not risen up and requests all the members to be good enough to bring into the Society more of their friends as members.

SUBSCRIBERS.

As compared with the number of 23 subscribers, (Indian and Foreign) on rolls on 1-4-1928, there are at present 36 subscribers. It is a matter for congratulation that the Director of Public Instruction Madras, was very kindly pleased to issue Proceedings to the several first Grade Colleges in the Presidency to subscribe for the Journal.

EXCHANGES.

At the date of the last Annual Meeting only 55 learned Societies and individual Scholars of this and other countries were giving their Journals and books in exchange for our Journal. At present

the list of exchanges has increased from 55 to 66 and this increase shows in the opinion of the Council that the work of the Society is being widely appreciated.

JOURNAL.

The publication of the Journal is being continued under the Editorship of Mr. C. Atmaram, B. A., B. L. During this year 3 numbers, viz. Parts 3 & 4 of Vol. II. and Part 1 of Vol. III. were published owing to difficulties with the Press. The Journal has continued to keep up its high level of excellence and elicited favourable opinions from eminent scholars and learned Societies. Its contents have been noticed in several Journals, Indian and Foreign. New Copper-plate and stone inscriptions are being published at great expense. Also the publication of a hitherto unpublished Sanskrit Drama called *Kaunvāli-mahōtsava* is being continuously published and will come to a close with Vol. III. and then a new work will be undertaken. The Society's grateful thanks are due to Mr. Manavalli Ramakrishna Kavi, Editor of that work. It is hoped that this line of work will continue to be a special feature of the Journal. The Council takes this opportunity to place on record its cordial thanks to the members of the Editorial Board who have spared no pains to improve the Journal with regard to its size and quality.

KALINGA DESA CHARITRA.

So far 42 formes (336 pages) of the Kalinga Desa Charitra have been printed and about ten more formes are yet to be printed. But unfortunately owing to difficulties with the Press the work has been unavoidably delayed. The Council hopes to publish the work before the end of the month by making necessary arrangements.

MEETINGS AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

During the year the Society held one General Body meeting at the end of the second quarter on 25-11-1928, with Mr. S. Bhima Sankara Rao Pantulu, Vice-President of the Society, in the Chair, to amend certain rules. Also seventeen managing Council meetings were held for the purpose of admitting new members and accepting new exchanges, electing Honorary Members, passing accounts and transacting all the other work of the Society. The Society also held two public meetings. The first was held on 25-11-28, when a paper on the "Archæological Discoveries of Gummididurru" was read by Mr. R. Subba Rao, M. A. A second meeting was held on 2-3-29 to celebrate the *Krishnadēvarāja Varddhanti*. The Council requested Messrs.

R. Subba Rao, M. A. and B. V. Krishna Rao, B. A., B. L., to visit Gummididurru and other places. The former visited the place in May last year and an account of the visit appears in part I of Vol. III. of the Journal. During the year the Secretary Mr. R. Subba Rao M. A. was also requested by the Andhra University to attend as its delegate, the Conference of the Indian Historical Records Commission which was held at Nagpur in December last. He attended the same and exhibited several copper-plates, coins, Persian *firmans* and the letters of the East India Company, etc. at the Historical Records Exhibition, held there. A full account of the Proceedings of the Conference and the history of the letters and *firmans* as well will appear in the ensuing parts of our Journal.

LIBRARY AND THE READING ROOM.

The Library and the Reading Room continue to be located in the rented premises for want of better accommodation. The Council is making attempts to have a better habitation for the Society. Correspondence is going on with the authorities of the Hindu Samaj and the Hitakarini Samaj with regard to the location of the Reading Room and the Library in their premises. The Council hopes to save by this means some expenditure to the Society and at the same time serve a wider reading public.

A peon on Rs. Ten (10/-) per mensem is continued and the opening of the Reading Room has enabled the members to make use of the Library, the Journals and other periodicals received. The Council notes with pleasure that the public are also making use, of the periodicals and the books in the Library. During the year the Council purchased a few books for the Library. But it has been considerably improved owing to the presentation of valuable books by Messrs. S. Narasimha Rao, B. A., LL. B., Bar-at-Law and J. Ramayya Pantulu, B. A., B. L., and the best thanks of the Society are due to them. Further the grant of Rs. 250/- by the Government has enabled the Council to purchase two more almyrahs costing Rs. 100/- and one table and other furniture and also several useful books for the Library. Also the Director of The Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda was good enough to give in exchange of the Society's publications, their Sanskrit Publications. Attempts are being made to obtain Archæological Memoirs and Epigraphical Reports and South Indian Inscriptions from the authorities concerned.

MUSEUM.

During the year Mr. R. Subba Rao, M. A., collected some rare Andhra coins, one set of copper-plates and other materials which

have been presented to the Museum of the Society. The Council requests the members to search for new copper-plates, stone inscriptions, coins, manuscripts and historical antiquities with a view to present them to the Museum. It is hoped that local Municipal Council will collect more historical antiquities for their Museum so as to serve the needs of the Research students.

FINANCE.

A Detailed statement of the Society's financial condition is given below by the Treasurer. The accounts have been audited by Mr. V. Jagannadha Rao, M. A., L. T., to whom our thanks are due. The Council requests all those members who are still in arrears, to pay down their dues at once so that the work of the Society may not suffer for lack of funds. The Council takes this opportunity to place on record its most grateful thanks to Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. Patro, Kt. B. A., B. L., for the generous grant of Rs. 500/- towards the publication of the *Kalingadēsa Charitra*, to the Government for their Library grant of Rs. 250/-, to Raja Kandregula Srinivasa Jagannadha Rao Pantulu garu for the grant of Rs. 16, towards the cost of printing the *Kalingadēsa Charitra* and to the several other donors who helped the Society with donations, books etc.

CONCLUSION.

The Council takes this opportunity to appeal to the several scholars who have not yet joined the Society to do so at an early date, and it requests its ordinary members to become Life members. It also appeals to several Zamindars and Maharajas to lend their helping hand so as to place the Society on a more stable basis so that still better work may be turned out by the Society.

TREASURER'S STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE.

(From 1-4-1928 to 31-5-1929)

Receipts.	Rs. As. P.	Expenditure.	
1 Last year's balance.	182— 5—7	1 Postage	144—10— 0
2 Subsns. from } members }	812— 0—0	2 Travlg. exps.	98—11— C
3 Donations.	726— 0—0	3 Printing	925—15— 0
4 Govt. Grant,	250— 0—0	4 Cost of paper	53— 0— 0
5 Sale of Journals.	2— 0—0	5 Cost of making blocks & Photos. }	219— 0— 0
6 Int. on S. B. A.	2— 7—3	6 Furniture	127— 8— 0
7 Advance by Tr.	200— 0—0	7 Room rent.	120— 0— 0
8 Mis. Receipts.	1— 6—0	8 Purchase of books.	144— 3— 0
9 Sale of Sanchikas.	40— 0—0	9 Binding do.	52—13— 0
		10 Stationary	7—15— 0
Total	2226—10—10	11 Peon's pay	126—10— 0
		12 Advance to Sec. } Ed. & Lib. }	44— 1— 0
		13 Balance in S.A.B.	108— 2—10
		14 Balance on hand.	40— 1— 0
		15 Mis. Charges.	13— 7— 0
		Total.	2226—10—10

N.B. 6 copies of Rajaraja Pattabhisheka Sanchika have been sold during the year and money realised for two copies sold during last year. 7 copies were given in exchange or as complimentary. Price of one copy sold last year has yet to be realised. The number of copies of the Sanchika on hand on 31-3-29 is 138 only.

The Society has to realise Rs. 103 from the resident members, Rs. 20 from non-resident members and Rs. 5 as donation. Out of Rs. 810 outstanding on account of donations promised on the Kalinga Day, 530 have been realised during the year.

N. KAMESWARA RAU, B.A., B.L.
Treasurer.

DONATIONS RECEIVED DURING THE YEAR 1928-29

	Rs. As. P.
C. R. Reddi Esq.	10—0—0
Government Grant.	250—0—0
Sir A. P. Patro. Kt.	500—0—0
B. China Babu Naidu garu.	50—0—0
Kandregula Srinivasa Jagannadha Rao Bahadur.	116—0—0
Kunduri Suryanarayana garu.	50—0—0

Subscribers to the Journal for 1928-1929.

- 1 Librarian, Secretariat Library, Fort St. George.
- 2 Do. University Library, Madras.
- 3 Do. University Library, Decca.
- 4 Do. Imperial Library, Calcutta.
- 5 Registrar, Andhra University, Bezwada.
- 6 Director of Information, Secretariat, Bombay.
- 7 Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.
- 8 President, Carnatic Historical Association, Darwar.
- 9 Superintendent Archæological Survey Eastern Circle, Calcutta
- 10 Do Do Gwalior State.
- 11 Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, London.
- 12 Principal, Arts College, Rajahmundry.
- 13 Do. Presidency College, Madras.
- 14 Do. C. D. College, Anantapur.
- 15 Do. Presidency College, Calcutta.
- 16 Do. Mayo College, Ajmere.
- 17 Do. Sanskrit College, Benares.
- 18 Do. Andhra Christian College, Guntur.
- 19 Do. Noble College, Masulipatam.
- 20 Do. P. R. College, Cocanada.
- 21 Commissioner, Ajmere-Merwara, Ajmere.
- 22 Rev. Prof. C. Theodore Benze, Philadelphia U. S. A.
- 23 Arthur Probsthain, 41 Great Russel St., London W. 1.
- 24 Hon. Secretary, Watson Museum, Rajakot.
- 25 Vicharanakarta, Tirumalai Devasthanam, Tirupati.
- 26 Rev. Prof. C. Theodore Benze, D. D.
7304 Boyer St. Mt. Airy. Philadelphia, U.S.A.
- 27 Principal, Stall Training College for Mistresses, Guntur.
- 28 Do Training College, Rajahmundry.
- 29 Secretary, Library Association Cocanada.
- 30 Curator, Adyar Library, Adyar.
- 31 Maharajah of Pittapuram, Pittapuram.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.

A

BOOKS PURCHASED DURING THE YEAR 1928—1929

- 1 Mahabharata Adiparvan Fascicule No. 2
- 2 Orissa and its Remains by Gangooly
- 3 Chattisgarh Feudatory States
- 4 Descriptive list of Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar
- 5 Descriptive list of Exhibits in Nagpur Museum
- 6 Introduction to the list of Exhibits
- 7 Historical Sketch of C. P.
- 8 Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
- 9 Letters from Maharata Camp in 1809
- 10 Civilisation in the Buddhist Age by R. C. Dutt
- 11 Political History of Ancient India by Roychaudari
- 12 Pre-Historic India by Mitra
- 13 Aborigines of the Highlands of C. India by Muzumdar
- 14 Nana Farnavis by MacDonald
- 15 Military System of the Mahrattas by Sen
- 16 Barhut Inscriptions by Barua and Sinha
- 17 Numismata Orientalia by Elliot
- 18 Archæology in India by Fergusson
- 19 Rigvedic Hymns
- 20 Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medæval India
- 21 Harsha by Radhakumud Mukherjee
- 22 Asoka by D. R. Bhandarkar
- 23 First Outlines of a Systematic Anthropology of Asia
- 24 A Forgotten Empire by Robert Sewell
- 25 Ancient Indian History and Civilisation
- 26 Catalogue of Books of Calcutta University Publications
- 27 Glories of Magadha by Samadar
- 28 Sir Ashutosh Mukherji Memorial Volume by Samadar
- 29 Economic History of Bihar

B

BOOKS PRESENTED DURING THE YEAR 1928—29.

By MR. SARANGU NARASIMHA RAO B.A., LL.B. (Cantab) BAR-AT-LAW.

- 1 Journal of Indian Industry & Art, Vols. 10, 12, 16 & 17 (2 copies)
- 2 Dialogues of Buddha (Rhys Davids), 3 Vols.
- 3 Inscriptions of Asoka (C. U. Publication)
- 4 Felix Lacote's Essai sur Gunadha et la Brhatkatha,
Translated into English by Father Tabard (Mythic Society)
- 5 Vedic India, by Z. A. Ragozin
- 6 Hindu Manners and Customs, by Abbe Dubois
- 7 Indian Historical Studies by H. G. Rawlinson
- 8 Indian Myth and Legend by D. A. Mackenzie
- 9 Comparative Grammar of Dravidian languages by Caldwell

- 10 Ancient Mid-Indian Kshatria Tribes, by Bimala Charan Law
- 11 Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India
- 12 Local Govt. in Ancient India, by Radhakumud Mukharjee
- 13 Prakrit Dhammapada, translated by Barua & Mitra
- 14 Kshatria Tribes in Ancient India, by Bimala Charan Law
- 15 Ancient Indian Numismatics, by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar
- 16 Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society
Vols. 5, 9, 10, 11 & 13.
- 17 McCrindle's Ancient India
- 18 Ancient India, by Dr. S. K. Ayyangar
- 19 Annals of Bhandarkar Institute (1919—20)
- 20 Dynasties of Southern India, by Robert Sewell
- 21 Chronological Tables in S. India
- 22 Madras Review Volume VI.
- 23 Journal of the Mystic Society Volume XIV
- 24 Siva Prasad's History of Hinduism

By Mr. BHAVARAJ V. KRISHNARAO, B.A., B.L.

- 1 Marsden's Numismata Orientalia Part I
- 2 ప్రాచీనాంధ్ర నాణాశాస్త్రము. భావరాజు వేంకటకృష్ణారావు.
- 3 Hindu Manners and Customs & Ceremonies by A. J. A. Dubois
- 4 A Narrative of the Siege of Delhi by Griffiths
- 5 Castes and Tribes of South India by Thurston 7 vols.
- 6 A New Inscription of Darius from Hamdan (A.S.I.)

BY M.R.RY. JAYANTI RAMAYYA PNTULU GARU, B.A., B.L.

- 1 Debates of Legislative Assembly, 8 Volumes
- 2 Do Council of State, 5 Volumes
- 3 Do Legislative Council, Madras, 10 Volumes
- 4 Journal of the Society of Arts 3 Bound Volumes
- 5 India Review, Bound Volumes I to V
- 6 Madras Review Volume I
- 7 History of Nagur Miran Sahab in Tamil
- 8 Data of Ethics by Herbert Spencer
- 9 Aristocracy of Southern India by Vadivelu
- 10 Land Revenue Policy of the India Government
- 11 Selections from the Asiatic Journals Volumes I to XXVIII
- 12 Reports of the Controller of Currency for 1921 and 1922
- 13 Pamphlets on Indian Education
- 14 Methods of Social Reform by Jevons
- 15 Yōga Vāsistha
- 16 Jñāna Yōga
- 17 English-Canarese Dictionary
- 18 English-Oriya Dictionary
- 19 Extracts from Adam's Diary by Mark Twain
- 20 Notable Speeches of Lord Curzon
- 21 Letters on Responsible Government by Curtis
- 22 Outlines of Buddhism by Bhikku Ananda
- 23 Life of Christ

- 24 Inner Doctrines of Christianity
- 25 History of professional Poisoners and Coiners
- 26 Centre of India Culture by Tagore
- 27 Dance, A National Art by Eleanor Elder
- 28 Some Mile Stones in Telugu Literature
- 29 Defence of Literary Telugu
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- 45 Holy Bible

By. Mr. KONDURI SURYANARAYANA

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By Mr. R. SUBBARAO, M. A., L. T.

- 1 Rāja Niti Ratnākara
- 2 List of Ancient Monuments for 1910
- 3 Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1918

By Dr. B. SESHAGIRI RAO, M. A. Ph. D.

- 1 Studies in South Indian Jainism

Materials Presented to the Museum of the Society during 1928-29.

By R. SUBBA RAO, M. A., L. T.

- 1 One set of Jirjingi Copper plates given by Sir A. P. Patro
- 2 A few Andhra and Moghal Coins

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY DURING 1928-1929.

Serial No.	Name of Member.	Designation,	Date of Election	Address.
1	Achyuta Rao T., M.A., L.T.	Teacher	14- 2-26	Head Master, Govt. Tg. Schol Guntur.
2	Anantagiri Rao M., B.A., B.L.	Dt. Munsiff	25- 9-27	District Munsif, Madura.
3	Akram Ali Mir, B.A., B.L.	Vakil	30-11-27	Vakil, District Court, Rajahmundry.
4	Anantarama Iyer P. H., M.A.	Teacher	27-10-26	Lecturer, P. R. College, Cocanada.
5	Appa Rao D., Bar-at-Law.	Dy. Registrar	2-12-26	Luz, Mylapore, Madras.
6	Appa Rao Vaddadi, B.A., B.L.	Vakil	9- 5-26	Vakil, District Court, Rajahmundry.
7	Appa Rao Vissa, M.A., L.T.	Teacher	14- 2-26	Prof. of Physics, Presy. College, Madras.
8	Abdul Ali, A.F.M.		15-12-28	Keeper of Records of Govt. of India, Calcutta.
9	Atmaram C., B.A., B.L.	Vakil	14- 2-26	Vakil, District Court, Rajahmundry.
10	Bapiraju Adivi, B.A.	Journalist	9- 5-26	Aste. Editor 'Triveni', Egmore, Madras.
11	Rev. W. T. Benze.	Missionary	12-11-27	Raverdale, Rajahmundry.
12	Bhadrayya L. V. B.A.	Pleader	...	Pleader Ellore.
13	Bhadrayya P., M.A., L.T.	Teacher	27- 1-27	Lecturer in Hist., Arts College, Rajahmundry.
14	Bhagavantam Gupta T., B.A., B.L.	Dy. Collector	27-10-26	Dy. Collector, Peddapuram.
15	Bhandarkar D. R.	Professor	10-12-26	35, Bally Gunge Circular Road, Calcutta.
16	Bhimasankara Rao S., B.A.	Pleader	14- 2-26	Pleader, Rajahmundry.
17	Bhimasena Rao C., B.A., L.T.	Teacher	22- 2-27	Lecturer, P. R. College, Cocanada.
18	Bhujanga Rao T., M.A., B.L.	Sub Judge	6- 1-27	Principal Sub Judge, Masulipatam.
19	Brahmanandamurti Ch., B.A., B.L.	Vakil	31- 2-27	Vakil, District Court, Rajahmundry.
20	Brierley W. B.	Principal	10-12-26	Principal, Arts College, Rajahmundry.
21	Dhanaraju T., B.A., B.L.	Vakil	31- 3-27	Vakil, District Court, Do.
22	Dharma Rao G., M.A.	Teacher	22- 2-27	Eng. Lecturer, Kallikta Coll. Berhampore.
23	Dubrieul G. J.	Professor	31- 2-27	Pend. cherry.

24	Dunkelburger, R.M., Rev. M.A., S.T.M.			
25	Eswara Dutt K.	Auditor	12- 2-29	Missionary, Rajahmundry.
26	Gangadhara Somayajulu G., M.A, B.L.		9- 5-26	Ellore.
27	Ganganna J., B.A., L.T.	Teacher	6- 1-27	Retired District Judge, Rajahmundry.
28	Gangooly T.			Head Master, V. H. School, Rajahmundry.
29	Gauripati Rao L., B.A., L.T.	Teacher	23- 1-23	35, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
30	Gnanaprakasam P.	Secretary	9- 5-26	Head Master, High School, Tun.
31	Gopala Krishnayya V.	Inamdar	30-11-27	Mission reading room, Rajahmundry.
32	Gopalam P. V.	Pleader	18-10-27	Satenapalle, Guntur District.
33	Govindarajulu Ch., B.A.		1- 4-27	Amalapuram.
34	Græffe Rev. J. E.	Missionary	18-10-27	Revenue Inspector, Nellore District.
35	Hanumanta Rao S., M.A.	Teacher	13-11-27	Luthergiri, Rajahmundry.
36	Hanumanta Rao C. V., M.A.	Do.	9- 5-26	Professor, Osmania College, Hyderabad.
37	Hanumachchastri A., M.A, B.Ed.	Principal	Do	Teacher, Training College, Rajahmundry.
38	Heras Henry S. J., M.A.		13-11-27	Sanskrit College, Kovvur West Godavari.
39	Hume Sastri Burra, B.A., B.L.	Vakil	10-12-26	Professor, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.
40	Hiredi Narayan, M.A.		7- 7-27	Chairman, Municipal Council, Vizagapatnam.
41	Jagannadha Rao N., B.A.	Pleader	15-12-28	Professor of His. Morr's Coll. Nagpur, C.P.
42	Jagannadha Rao V., M.A.		21- 7-25	Narasarowpeta.
43	Jagannadhaswami G., M.A., L.T.		30-11-24	Lecturer in History, Arts College, Rjy.
44	Jagannadhaswami P., M.A., L.T.			Head Master P. R. College, Cocanada.
45	Joganna U., B.A., M.L.	Vakil	17- 5-27	Lecturer, Raja's College, Parlakimedi.
46	Jogiah Pantulu V. V., M.L.A.	Do.	27-10-26	Vakil, Cocanada.
47	Jagannudha Gopalrao, K.		17- 5-27	Member Legislative Assembly, Bethampore.
48	Kameswara Rao D. Ch.	Inamdar	12- 2-29	Zamindar, Rajahmundry.
49	Kameswara Rao N., B.A., B.L.	Vakil	5- 9-26	Rajahmundry.
50	Kameswara Rao S., B.A., B.L.	Do.	9- 5-26	High Court Vakil, Rajal mundry.
51	Kameswara Rao S., M.A., L.T.	Do.	10-12-26	Do.
			27- 1-25	Lecturer, Training College, Rajahmundry.

Serial No.	Name of Member.	Designation.	Date of Election	Address.
52	Kameswara Sastri, Bh.	Pandit	14-11-25	Aryapuram, Rajahmundry.
53	Krishnamachari M., M. A., M. L.	Dt. Munsif	27- 1-36	District Munsiff, Chengalput.
54	Kali Das Nag, Dr. M. A.	Professor		University Professor, Calcutta.
55	Krishna Rao Nalam.	Merchant		Rajahmundry.
56	Krishna Bai R. S., B. A., L. T.	Teacher	27-10-26	Govt. Girls' H. School, Rajahmundry.
57	Krishna Rao Bhorale R., M.R., A. S.		30-11-24	Sey. to commissioner Govt. Exms., Madras.
58	Krishnaswami Rao C., B. A.	Teacher	4-12-33	Seeta Park, Basavangudi, Bangalore City.
59	Krishnaswami Iyer, S. M. A., L. T.	Do	6- 1-27	Training College, Rajahmundry.
60	Kurma Rao T. M. A., L. T.	Do	30-11-24	Lecturer, Govt. Arts College, Rajahmundry.
61	Lakshman Rao K., B. E.	Engineer	14- 2-26	Supervisor, D. P. W. Ammapet Tanjore Dt.
62	Lakshminarayana Sastri B. A.		12- 3-27	Dy. Inspector of Schools, Ramachendrapur.
63	Lakshminarayana Sastri C.		15-12-28	High Court Vakil, Vizagapatam.
64	Locan Prasad Pandya.	Vakil		Balapur, Post Chandrapur v. a Raigarh, B.N.R.
65	Mallikarjuna Rao Pandiri.	Journalist	9- 5-26	Editor 'Subhashi', Rajahmundry.
66	Nagabhushanam S., B. A., L. T.	Teacher	30- 4-37	Teacher, Govt. Tg. College, Rajahmundry.
67	Narasimha Rao G., B. A., L. T.	Do	1- 4-28	Lecturer, Raja's College, Parlakmedi.
68	Narasimha Rao V., B. A.	Do		First Assistant, High School, Pichapuram.
69	Narasimham D. L., M. A., L. T.	Do		Lecturer, C. D. College, Anantapur.
70	Narasimha Iyengar S., M. A., L. T.	Do	27-10-26	Do.
71	Narasimha Rao S., M. A., L. L. B.	Dy. Collector	9- 5-25	Dy. Collector, Atmakur, Neilore District.
72	Narasimhulu M.	Inamdar	10-12-26	Arasavalli, Via, Chicacole.
73	Narayana Rao C., M. A., L. T.,			Lecturer, C. D. College, Anantapur.
74	Neudoerffer A. F. A.	Missionary	14- 2-26	A. E. L. Mission Rajahmundry.
75	Nilakanta Das, M. A.		25- 9-27	M. L. A., Sachi Gopal, Puri.
76	Parameswara Rao Y., B. A., B. L.	Vakil	31- 3-27	Rajahmundry.

77	Peri Sastri S., B. A., L. T.	Teacher	19- 2-23	Dy. Inspector of Schcols, Tanuku.
78	Pitchayya V., B. A.	Pleader	6- 1-27	Pleader Cuddapah.
79	Prakasa Rao D. V. S., B. A.		27-10-27	Cocanada.
80	Purniah Pantulu Vepa., B. A., B. L.	Sub Judge	30- 4-27	Sub Judge, Rajahmundry.
81	Purushottam Sonti., M. A.			Lecturer, Mah. College, Vizianagaram.
82	Radhakrishnan S., M. A.			Post Graduate Dept., Calcutta, University.
83	Raghavachari K. M. A., B. L.	Vakil	4- 6-28	Pleader, Cocanada.
84	Raghava Rao G. V., B. A.	Pleader	9- 6-28	Pleader, Yellamanchili Vizag Dt.
85	Raghavendra Rao P., B. A., L. L.	Teacher	30-11-24	Dy. Inspector of Schcols, Masulipatam.
86	Raghavachari N., M. A., L. T.		27- 1-25	
87	Rajaguru Hemarij.		4-11-28	Dhoktola, Nepal.
88	Rajarajeswara Nisank Bahadur.	Student		Govt. Arts College, Rajahmundry
89	Rajaratnam K., B. A.		10-12-26	Dt. Labour Officer, E. Godavari, Cocanada
90	Ramachandra Rao B., M. A., L. T.	Teacher	25- 9-27	Head Master, Town High School, Guntur
91	Ramachandra Rao D., B. A.	Pleader	5- 9-26	Kotakonda, Konduru Post, Kurnool Dt
92	Ramachandra Rao R. S. M. A., L. T.	Teacher	9- 5-26	Hd. Master, Samasthanam H. Sl. Bobbili
93	Ramakrishna Sastri B., B. A.	Pleader	12- 3-28	Pleader Vizagapatam.
94	Ramakrishna K., M. A.	Teacher	30-11-24	Lecturer, Mah. College, Vizianagaram
95	Ramalingam B.,		30-11-27	Rajahmundry.
96	Ramalingam W., B. A., L. T.		17- 5-27	Chairman, Municipal Council, Berhampore
97	Ranamurti G. V. B. A., Rao Saheb.		19- 3-25	Parlakimedi.
98	Ranamurti K.	Supervisor	27-10-26	Municipal Supervisor, Vizag.
99	Ranamurti Y., M. A., L. T.	Teacher	17- 5-27	Lecturer, Kallikota College, Berhampore
100	Ranamurty R. V. M. A., B. L.	Vakil	17- 5-27	Vakil, Berhampore.
101	Rama Rao A., B. A., B. L.	Vakil	5- 9-26	Govt. Pleader, Rajahmundry.
102	Rama Rao M., B. A. (HONS)	Student	4- 6-28	Madras University, Madras.
103	Ramayya Pantulu J., B. A., B. L.		19- 2-25	Multetwari m, Tattaiemuci Ft. Amalapur
104	Ramaswami Iyengar M. S.	Teacher	4-12-28	Maharaja's College, Vizianagaram.

Serial No.	Name of Member.	Designation.	Date of Election.	Address.
105	Ramadas G., B. A.	Do	30-11-24	Head Master B. H. S. Jeypore.
106	Rangachari K., M. A.	Do	30-11-24	Lecturer, Mah. College, Vizianagaram.
107	Rangachari N., M. A., L. T.	Do	27- 1-25	Head Master High School, Pithapuram.
108	Rangachari V., M. A.	Do	Do	Prof. of History, Prescy. College, Madras.
109	Ranga Reddi N., B. A., B. L.,	Vakil	6- 1-27	President Lt. Bd. Cuddapah, Proddutur.
110	Rao P. S. M. A., (Oxon) I. C. S.	Bar-at-law	2-12-26	Officer on Special Duty, Drug C. P.
111	Sambasiva Rao C.	Inamdar	7- 7-27	Luz, Mylapore Madras.
112	Sambasiva Rao D.	Pleader	9- 5-26	Rajahmundry.
113	Sambasiva Rao M.,	Teacher	30- 4-27	Pleader, Rajahmundry.
113	Sambasiva Rao, S. V., B. A., L. T.	Do	17- 5-26	Teacher, Mandasa, Ganjam.
114	Sankara Rao A., B. A., L. T.	Do	30-11-27	Teacher V. High School, Rajahmundry.
115	Sarma S. V. S. R.	Inamdar	17- 5-27	Hindi Propagandist Rajapalam, Ramnad Dt.
116	Satyanarayana Bh., B. A.	Teacher	10-12-24	Teacher H. School, Fort St. John, Guntur Dt.
117	Satyanarayana B. V. N., B. A.	Do	31- 8-27	Arvapuram, Rajahmundry.
118	Seshagiri Rao Addanki M. A., L. T.	Teacher	31- 7-28	P. R. College, Cocanada.
119	Satyanarayana Rajaguru.	Vakil	23- 1-28	Parlakimeci.
120	Satyanarayana Rao P., B. A., B. L.	Teacher	2-12-26	High Court Vakil, Mylapore Madras.
121	Satyanarayana V.	Do	15-12-28	Mission High School, Vizagapatam.
122	Seshagiri Rao B., M. A.	Do	30- 4-27	Lecturer, Muh. College, Vizianagaram.
123	Seshagiri Rao P., B. A.	Teacher	Do	Dy. Inspector of Schools, Adoni.
124	Seshagiri Rao R.	Advocate	7- 7-27	Agent, Macmillan & Co., Madras.
125	Seshadri P., M. A.	Journalist	18-10-27	Prof. of Eng. Benares Hindu University.
126	Sitapati G., B. A., L. T.	Author.	Nil	Lecturer, Raja's College, Parlakimeci.
127	Seetaram Rao K., M. A.	Vakil	5- 9-36	Dy. Inspector of Schools, Rajahmundry.
128	Setlur S. S., B. A., L. L. B.	Journalist	9- 5-26	Advocate, Chief Court, Bangalore City.

129	Sivarama Sarma B.	Journalist	Nil	Aryapuram, Rajahmundry.
130	Sivasankara Sastri T.	Author	9- 5-26	Kothapeta, Guntur.
131	Sitaramiah G, B.A., B.L.	Vakil	17- 5-27	Berhampore.
132	Somasekhara Sarma M.	Journalist	Nil	Andhra Patrika Office, G. T, Madras.
133	Somasundara Desikar.	Pandit	9- 5-26	Tamil Lexicon Office, Chapauk, Madras. •
134	Somasundaram P., B.A., B.L.	Vakil	2-12-26	High Court Vakil, Mylapore, Madras.
135	Somasajulu C., Rao Sah.b.	Do.	6- 1-27	Govt. Pleader, Polavaram Godavari Agency.
136	Sri Gopinath Harischandan Jaga Deb	Zamindar	31- 7-27	Zamindar of Tekkali, Ganjam District.
137	Sri L. N. Harischandan Jaga Deb.	Do.	31- 8-27	Zamindar of Tekkal, Ganjam District.
138	Sri Ivasa Raghavachari M. K.	Lecturer	Do	Lecturer, Arts College, Rajahmundry.
139	Sritam V., B.A., L.T.		6- 1-27	Dy. Insp. of Schools, Tekkali, Ganjam Dt.
140	Sriramamurthi D. B.A.	Pleader		Vakil, District Court, Rajahmundry.
141	Srirama Sastri D., B.A., M.L.	Vakil	12- 3-28	Govt. Pleader, Vizagapatam.
142	Subbarao L., B.A., B.L.	Do.	27-10-26	High Court Vakil Cocanada.
143	Subbarao Pantulu N., B.A., B.L.	Vakil	14- 2-26	High Court Vakil, Rajahmundry.
144	Subbarao R., B.A., B.L.	Do.	31- 3-27	Do Do.
145	Subbarao Rallaband , M.A., L.T.	Lecturer	Nil	Lecturer in History Arts College, Rajahmundry
146	Subbarao V., B.A., B.L.	Vakil	5- 9-26	High Court Vakil, Rajahmundry.
147	Subbarayudu M. B.A., L.T.	Teacher	9- 5-26	Teacher, High School, Tuni.
148	Subbayya P., M.A., L.T.	Do.	4-11-28	Govt. Model High School, Rajahmundry.
149	Subrahmanyam K. R., M.A.	Do.	5- 9-26	Research Student-Andhra University
150	Surisastri P. B.A.	Author	12- 3-28	Masulipatam. [Bezwada.
151	Suryanarayana Ch., BA., B.L.	Vakil	30- 4-27	High Court Vak.1, Rajahmundry.
152	Suryanarayanamurti T.		1- 4-28	Dy. Ins. of Schools, Kaikalur Range.
153	Suryanarayana Rao K.	Inamdar	5- 9-26	Rajahmundry.
154	Suryaprakasarao C., B.A.	Ret. Tahasildar	10-12-26	Vizagapatam.
155	Suryaprasadarao T.	Inamdar	2- 6-27	Siddhantam, Ganjam District.
156	Suryarao R., B.A., B.L.	Vakil	31- 7-23	Commissioner, Rel. End. B.J., Madras.

Serial No.	Name of Member.	Designation.	Date of Election	Address.
157	Siddique Hassan Khan, B.A.	Teacher	15-12-28	Anjuman High School, Nagpur, C. P.
158	Syed Khuurjeead Ali	Director	15-12-28	Duftar Diwani Hyderabad, Deccan.
159	Theophilus Fernandez,	Teacher	15-12-28	Asst. Prof. of History, Amraoti, C. P.
160	Vajulu R. B.A., B.L.	Vakil	31- 7-27	Vakil, Rajahmundry.
161	Veerabasavaraju, I.	Inamdar	5- 9-26	Yeletipati Aghraharam, Penukonda Post.
162	Veeranna P., B.A.	Vakil	7- 7-27	Khandriga, W. Alsmur Pt. E. Godavari.
163	Veeraraghavachari S. E. V.		12- 3-28	President, Tel. Sans. Aca. Vizianagram.
164	Vedananda Tirtha Swami		4- 6-28	Gurudutta Bhavan, Lahore.
165	Venkatachalam Pantulu C., B.A. B.L.	Vakil	27-10-26	High Court Vakil, Rajahmundry.
166	Venkatachalam P.	Inamdar	3- 3-27	Bapur Bazaar Street Berhampore.
167	Venkatakrisnharao B., B.A., B.L.	Vakil	Nil	Vakil, District Court, Rajahmundry.
168	Venkata Narasimha Sastri S., B.A.	Pleader	9- 5-29	Pleader, Bezwada.
169	Venkatanarayana T., B.A., B.L.	Sub Judge	12- 3-28	Sub Judge, Vizagapatam.
170	Venkatramnaiah I.	Inamdar	10-12-26	Bezwada.
171	Venkatramaraju R.	Do.	27-10-26	Malikapuram, Rajole Taluq.
172	Venkatramanaiah S.		31- 3-27	Amalapuram.
173	Venkatramiah D.		14-11-25	Dy. Ins. of Sch. Vuyyur, Kistna Dt.
174	Venkatramiah N., B.A., B.L.	Vakil	30- 4-27	High Court Vakil, Rajahmundry.
175	Venkatrao Ch.	Typist	5- 9-26	Typist Rajahmundry.
176	Venkatrao D., M.A., L.T.	Lecturer	Nil	Lecturer, C. D. College, Anantapur.
177	Venkatasivudu R., M.A., L.T.		10-12-26	Guntur.
178	Venkata Rangiah M., M.A.		30-11-24	Principal, V. R. College, Nellore.
179	Venkata Subbarao N.	Inamdar	2-12-26	Indukurpet, Gokavaram.
180	Venkatesan N. K., M.A., L.T.	Lecturer	14- 2-26	Lecturer, Arts College, Rajahmundry.
181	Venkateswarulu V.	Shrotriendar	2-12-26	Editor, Federated India, Madras.
182	Venkatram Iyer A. V. M.A.		30-11-24	Curator, Records Office, Madras.
183	Vikramadev Varmaji Raja	Landlord	10-12-26	Vizagapatam.
184	Werner Rev. O. V.	Missionary	13-11-27	Luthergari, Rajahmundry.
185	Yegnanarayana Sarma B. Ch.	Inamdar	17- 5-27	Madugula, Vizag Dt.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Ch.lukuri Veerabhadrarao, Author Kovvur, West Godavari.
 Manavilli Ramakrishna Kavi, M.A. Do. 366, Mint St. Madras.

LIST OF OUR EXCHANGES.

- 1 The Educational Review, Madras.
- 2 The Vedic Magazine, Gurukula, K. ingri.
- 3 The Yoga Mimamsa, Lonavla.
- 4 The Jaina Gazette, Madras.
- 5 Visva-Bhārati Quarterly, Calcutta .
- 6 Āndhra Sahitya Parishat-Patrika, Cocanada.
- 7 Maharaja's College Magazine, Vizianagaram.
- 8 The Philosophical Quarterly, Amalner, East Khandesh.
- 9 Journal of Indian History, Madras.
- 10 The Mysore Economic Journal, Bangalore.
- 11 Bharati, Madras.
- 12 Nagari Prachrini Patrika, Benares.
- 13 The Maha-Bōlhi, Calcutta. .
- 14 Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.
- 15 Journal of the K. R. Kama Institute Bombay.
- 16 Journal of the B. B. of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.
- 17 Indian Antiquary,
- 18 Asia Major, Liepsig.
- 19 Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
- 20 Indian Journal of Economics, Allahabad.
- 21 Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology, Kern Institute, Leiden
- 22 Epigraphia Indica.
- 23 Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.
- 24 Sujāta, Hyderabad.
- 25 The Shrine of Wisdom, London
- 26 Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society Patna.
- 27 Telugu Samachar, Bombay.
- 28 Modern Review, Calcutta.
- 29 Bangiya Sāhitya Parishat Patrika, Calcutta.
- 30 Karnātaka Sāhitya Parishat Patrika, Bangalore.
- 31 Journal of the Anthropological Society, Bombay.

- 32 Man in India, Ranchi.
- 33 Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- 34 Annual Report of the Smithsonian Society, Washington.
- 35 Bulletin of The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- 36 The Vaitarani, Cuttack
- 37 Triveni, Madras.
- 38 Oriental Magazine, New York.
- 39 British Buddhist, London.
- 40 Prabuddha Bhārata.
- 41 Journal of the Historical Society, Bombay.
- 42 The Harmonist, Calcutta.
- 43 The Young Men of India, Calcutta.
- 44 The Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
- 45 The Christian College Magazine, Madras.
- 46 The Manōrama, Allahabad.
- 47 Rural India, Madras.
- 48 The Muslim Review, Calcutta.
- 49 Papers of the Kerala Society, Trivandrum.
- 50 Jaya Karmātaka, Dharwar.
- 51 Eastern Buddhist.

PUBLICATIONS FROM :—

- 52 Academie des Beaux-Arts, Institute De France, Paris.
- 53 The Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona.
- 54 The Superintendent, Govt. Museum, Madras.
- 55 Department of Archæology, H.E.H. The Nizam's Govt. Hyderabad
- 56 Asst. Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.
- 57 Gesellschaft Der Wissenschaften Zu Gottingen Germany.
- 58 Superintendent, Musée Guimet, Paris.
- 59 The Gaekwad Oriental Institute, Baroda.
- 60 Deutsche Morganlandische Gessellschaft Halle (Saale)
- 61 The Greater India Society, Calcutta.
- 62 The Superintendent of Archæology, Gwalior.
- 63 The Calcutta University.
- 64 The Archæological Department, Djawa (Java)

ANDHRA ORIENTAL SERIES No. 1.

KAUMUDĪ MAHÔTSAVA.

EDITED BY

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AND

MĪMĀNSĀCHĀRYA

S. K. RAMANATHA SASTRI.



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P R E F A C E .

It is with great pleasure that the Society undertook the publication of this hitherto unpublished Sanskrit Historical Drama. One of the chief objects for which the Society stands viz., the publication of important unpublished original works bearing on the History and Literature of this Country is being realised. It is gratifying to note that with the kind help and co-operation of Messers. M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI and S. K. RAMANATHA SASTRI, of whom the former is an Honorary Member of the Society, one more Historical work, this time Prākṛita work, viz., *Lilavati*, will be commenced soon. It is not till more such historical plays and works are printed and published, that the ancient history and civilisation of our country will be fully revealed to the ardent students of culture. The Society's best thanks are due to Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi for his careful and learned editing of the Drama. As stated in his introduction, the work throws a flood of light on the social and religious customs of the people in ancient times. It is hoped that the readers will welcome such works and also help the Society in further realising its cherished objects by sending similar works for publication.

The work was first undertaken for publication in the Dakṣiṇabhāratī Sanskrit Series edited by Messrs S. K. Ramanatha Sastri and M. R. Kavi, but on our request they were pleased to issue it in this series as it relates to History of India in illuminating certain dark periods of it.

We thank the Proprietor of the Bhaskara Press for the prompt and neat execution of the work entrusted to him.

Andhra Historical Research Society, }
Rajahmundry,
15-3-1929.

R. Subba Rao M.A., L.T.,
Hon. Secretary.

INTRODUCTION

Ms. Material :—The manuscript of this drama was obtained on loan in British Malabar by the members of the peripatetic party instituted by Madras Government. A copy was taken from it at the G. O. Mss. Library and the manuscript was returned to the owner. The present edition is based upon another direct copy from the same original. All efforts to obtain a second copy proved fruitless. The original copy is on the palm-leaf of *śrītāla* kind and the copying may not be older than 150 years. The same volume contains another drama called अभिरामचित्रलेखम् probably a work of the 13th century. The superscript on the covering leaf mentions only the latter work.

The name of the drama.—There is no mention of the name of the drama in the prologue and no colophon at the end to indicate the work or its author. The scribe at the close of the copy wrote Kaumudimahotsava without any apparent connection with the rest of the work. It was inferred that the drama might have been known by that name. The words of the *sūtradhāra* in the prologue—पुनरयमपरः प्रत्यासादति कौमुदीमहोत्सवः—may support this conjecture. Of course Kaumudimahotsava was a common annual autumnal festival celebrated at Pātaliputra and there are references to it in Mudrārākṣhasa. Here the two words पुनः and अपरः are significant of a different type of enjoyment. The editors gave that name to this drama when they brought the Ms. to the G. O. Mss. Library and the same is adopted here.*

The author :—It is here that conjecture has its full play. In the prologue the letters that mention the name of the poet are worm-eaten in the original manuscript and the space occupied by them can contain two letters only. The letters following are कया निबद्धं, which suggest that the author belongs to the fair sex and her name is consecrated in three letters. It was guessed as वैजिका. A close examination of the leaf revealed a part of ज underneath the worm-eaten portion which further strengthens that ज may be the latter half of

* A number of dramas obtained in Malabar do not bear any names. Even 13 dramas ascribed to Bhasa are found there with abbreviated names. All the dramas of Udayana's heroship are called वत्सराज चरितं including Ratnāvali, Priyadarsikā etc. Vināvāsavadatta was a name given by us on the support of a passage in शाकुन्तलचर्चन where वीणावासवदत्त is said to begin with a benedictory verse containing 22 words. Even Bhasa's dramas are found with different names. कर्णभार is known as कवचादान and कुण्डलाहरण, Urubhanga as गदायुद्ध, Abhisheka as रामाभिषेक, Pratimā as प्रतिभाराम and प्रतिमादशरथ etc. The critical work on Sākuntala named above mentions a few more plays not yet published etc., चण्डालरामायण, उन्मादवासवदत्ता and त्रैविक्रम. The last alone of the three has been obtained.

conjunct consonantal sound. In accepting this we shall have to meet with difficulties. In the fourth act (page 35 verse 19) Vijayā is mentioned, in a significant manner. Vijja seems to be the Prakrit form of Vidyā and does not bear any philological relation with Vijayā. In the same verse 'Anantanārāyaṇa', the chief deity of Trivandrum, may indicate that either the poet's name was it or any princess Vijaya was the devotee to the god Anantanārāyaṇa of Trivandrum. Then the drama must be a Malabar production. The last verse, भरतवाक्य contains another significant word, नीलकण्ठ (Nīlakaṇṭha) whose name is familiar to us as the author of Kalyāṇa-saugandhika which in some respects bears close resemblance to the Bhārata dramas of Bhāsa. Nīlakaṇṭha may be assigned to 850 A.D. But Kaumudīmahotsava differs in style and thought from the works of either Anantanārāyaṇa (author of Chandrikājanamejaya) or Nīlakaṇṭha, who lived at Paramakuṭi in Tinnevely District. The work is not found quoted anywhere with or without name as far as we could ascertain. The diction appears to be a maiden attempt of a great poet and the prose though simple and fluent wants dignity both in thought and expression.

The plot of the drama as revealed in the Fourth Act is a commonplace political act eclipsed by the amours of the hero and heroine. Chanḍasena, the military commandant of Sundaravarman, a king of Magadha, conspired with the Licchavis, the hereditary enemies of his lord and brought about their attack on Pātaliputra. In the contest between Sundaravarman and the Licchavis, the former died on the battle field. Chanḍasena became the king. Mantragupta, the minister of Sundaravarman, secreted the prince Kalyanavarman with a few minister's sons to a place called Pampā in the Vindhya, while he himself in various disguises watched an opportunity to regain the throne for the prince. Some years passed before he could muster forces and defeat the traitor. At last Kalyāṇavarman was installed on the Magadha throne. The drama was staged on the occasion of his coronation.

An amorous incident covers up the political stratagem of Mantragupta. Kīrtimatī, the daughter of Kīrtisena, the king of the Sūrasenas, accompanied one Yogasiddhi, a nun, who was proceeding to worship Vindhyaśālinī in the Vindhya. The nun was once the nurse to Kalyāṇavarman at Pātaliputra and since the death of his father, Sundaravarman, she renounced all worldly ties and spent her days in various holy places. When she came to Mathura the royal household treated her most kindly and even entrusted their daughter, Kīrtimatī to her care in her pilgrimage to Vindhyaśālinī. During their stay at Pampā the prince and princess met each other by accident and their first sight slowly developed into love. Yogasiddhi saw their portraits as drawn by the goddess and identified between the couple the child growing into prime youth once nursed by her. She fell into a reverie of old reminiscences. Meanwhile Mantragupta killed the usurper and proclaimed Kalyāṇavarman as king of Magadha. The nun and the princess went back to Sourāṣṭra, and her father Kīrtisena was doubly pleased to receive the intelligence of Kalyāṇavarman's prosperity and his daughter's overtures of love and sent an ambassador with a pearl-necklace which had a heroic history behind it and with the proposals of

marriage of his daughter to the Royal youth. Kalyāṇavarman was only too glad to reject such an offer of friendly allegiance and prop of life.

The plot appears to possess some historic background. The conquest of Magadha by the Lichchavis was not unfrequently a historic incident. But our knowledge of the Lichchavis or the history of Magadha is not sufficiently advanced to identify any of the dramatic characters with historic persons. The history of Magadha from second century to the sixth century after Christ is not perfect and usurpation of Magadha was a common incident at least once in each century. The mystery of the plot, though quite commonplace, enhances the mystery of the authorship or the period of its composition. Though we can emphatically say that the work is not a fanciful conception of a Malayali yet we cannot but feel our inability to point at the particular time and place of the hero or his poet.

The plot, laid with perfect simplicity, and the expression, simple and quite natural, assign the play to the period of Sanskrit literature between 500 and 700 A.D. The author seems to have studied Kālidāsa and Bhāravi. शैल्यगन्धिनि शिलातले, विषयेषु पर्यन्तपरितापनान् are respectively the plumes borrowed from them.

ध्वस्तः सुन्दरपाटलासि पतितः कार्त्तवीर्यः शक्तिः refers to Śālankāyana's capture of Udayana. Sundarapātala was Udayana's horse and Kārttavyāna was his military attendant who accompanied him to Nāgavana. His fall was referred to in Vināvāsavadatta.

शौनकमिव बन्धुमती कुमारमविमारकं कुरङ्गीव ।

Śaunaka, a brahmin hero, falls in love with Bandhumatī, the daughter of a king of Ayodhya and induces her to leave her parental home. On the way they miss each other and reunite. Her father is attacked by the Lord of Trigarta to whom she is betrothed. Saunaka gathers an army and relieves his father-in-law from danger. In his next birth he becomes Sūdraka. The story is given in Avantisundari of Dandin.

Avimāraka is the hero of a drama of the same name ascribed to Bhasa. He marries Kurangī. Vātsyāyana refers to his story. A critic may be induced to say that the author of our drama might have written Avimāraka and Bandhumatī-Saunaka besides Vināvāsavadatta. At the present stage it must be said that style alone is sufficient to ascribe our work to a different hand from either Bhasa or Sūdraka, the author of Vināvāsavadatta.

There are references in this work to Dattaka, Goṇikāputra and Mūladeva whom old poets frequently mention. The use of technical terms as आलयिकदूत etc., also supports the antiquity of the drama. Sugāṅga and Suyāmuna were the royal palaces at Pātaliputra and Kauśambi and Mudrārūkṣha and Brihatkathā-Sloka-Sangraha use these terms. Āvantimāsha appears to be a gold coin

current in Mālwa but the character who uses the term was of Pātaliputra. This use may speak in favour of the poet's nativity in Mālwa.

The work was taken up in the Dakshinabhārati Sanskrit Series. The editor and the Secretary of the Andhra Historical Research Society requested us to issue it in their series for enlightening research in pure history. We have to issue it again in our series on account of its literary value.

MADRAS |
1st June 1929. |

M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI.

Addendum.

Page 13 lines 6 and 21.

हिओरतीए=ग्रस्तनरात्रौ must be read in the Sanskrit rendering.

वीर—(भूमावुपविशति).

मन्त्र—केदानीं वर्तते स्वामी ?

वीर—मार्गे ।

मन्त्र—अप्यस्यामेबरजन्यां कुसुमपुरमेप्यति स्वामी ?

वीर—अर्य, प्रभाते ।

मन्त्र—एवं भोः । अथ कियानिव परिपार्श्ववर्ती सेनावयवः ?

वीर—शतमात्रन्दाशेरकबलम् । नन्दकप्रभृतयो दौवारिकाः । येऽपि त्वया सह कुसु-
मपुरमप्राप्तास्तेऽपि । समवयसोऽपि । सकलबलसन्दोहसनाथः कुञ्जरकसेना-
पतिः ।

मन्त्र—साधु कुञ्जरक साधु,

सुहृदामनपायि सौहृदं

विजयत्वेऽपि कुलक्रमागतम् ।

ननु दाशरथिप्रयोजने

प्रियमायुः क्षपितं जटायुषा ॥ १४ ॥

अथ प्रतिनिवृत्तायां (राजदुहितरि) विरहातुरः स्वामी कथमिव सन्नाहं
प्रतिपद्येत ?

वीर—यदहरेव प्रतिनिवृत्ता सा राजदारिका तदहरेव त्वत्सकाशादात्ययिकदूतो हरि-
णाश्वः प्रादृश्यत ।

मन्त्र—ततस्ततः ।

वीर—चिरप्रधातिलब्धावसरविजृम्भमाणरोषामर्षवशवार्तितः क्षणप्रणष्टकान्तावियोग-
स्वरःप्रतिपक्षमुपेक्षमाणः सन्नाहमेव प्रत्यपद्यत स्वामी ।

मन्त्र—सदृशमिदं क्षात्रस्य तेजसः । पश्य—

त्यक्तं तया कुपितवह्निपरीतमन्त-
 र्द्धाम स्वमेव हृदयं नरदेवसूनोः ।
 मध्यन्दिनार्ककिरणोष्णमपाकरोति
 किं वारि पद्मसरसोऽपि न राजहंसी ॥ १५ ॥

अथ न कदाचिदपि सा नः स्वामिनः स्मृतिपथमागता ?

वीर—अथ कदाचित् पथि परिणमति पश्चिमाशावर्लम्बिनि सूर्यबिम्बे परिवृत्तासु तरु-
 च्छायासु मन्दमन्दसञ्चारिणि सायन्तने नभस्वति बैखानसोत्सङ्गनिवेशितोत्त-
 माङ्गो मदङ्कविन्यस्तपदारविन्दः पल्लवशयनगतः स्वामी तां दृष्ट्वा द्रुष्ट्य बहु-
 प्रलपितवान् सः—

इति कृतमिति चोक्तं चेष्टितान्येवमास-
 भिति नियतमवाप्ता मामनुस्मृत्य शोकम् ।
 विरहमसहमाना चक्रवाकीव बाला
 नयनसलिलधारादुर्दिनासु क्षपासु ॥ १६ ॥

इत्येवमादि ।

मन्त्र—राजशासनात् प्रतिनिवृत्तायां राजदारिकायां कीदृशेन सन्देशेन स्वामिनमा-
 प्याय्य प्रस्थिता योगसिद्धिः ?

वीर—‘पूर्वमपि मदायत्तोऽयमर्थः, पश्चादप्येवमेव’ इत्येतावतैव । अतः परमिह भवा-
 नेव प्रमाणम् ।

मन्त्र—मयापि पुरोहितमूनुरार्यराक्षितो मथुरां प्रेषितः—यदाह भगवती योगसिद्धि-
 स्तत् प्रतिवक्तव्यम्—इति ।

वीर—अपि सुखेन पच्यते प्रयोजनसिद्धिः ?

मन्त्र—तथैव प्रयतिष्यते भगवती यथा स्वयमेव स्वां दुहितरमस्मत्स्वामिने प्रतिपाद-
 यिष्यति मथुरेश्वरः । तदहमप्यतः कृतोपनतेन मियासमागमोत्सवेन प्रतिपन्न-
 राज्याभिषेकमस्मत्स्वामिनमाराधयामि । पश्य—

सङ्गतिश्चिरमचिन्तितपूर्वा
 निर्द्विप्रणयिनी मिथुनानां ।

आधिराज्यमधिरोहति तस्याः
षोडशीमपि कलां न मघोनः ॥ १७ ॥

(नेपथ्ये महान् कलकलः)

उभौ—अये ! शब्द इव ।

(पुनरपि नेपथ्ये)

भो भोः पाटलिपुत्रवासिनः पौराः, शृण्वन्तु भवन्तः—

श्रीमद्भिः सचिवसतैः समन्वितोऽसौ
लक्ष्मीवानुडुनिषहैरिवोडुराजः ।
प्रहानां नयनमहोत्सवः प्रजानां
सम्प्राप्तो मगधकुलाङ्कुरः कुमारः ॥ १८ ॥

मन्त्र—(सहसोत्थाय)

जयति प्रथमं विजया जयन्ति देवाः स्वयं महादेवः ।
श्रीमन्तौ भगवन्तावनन्तनारायणौ जयतः ॥ १९ ॥

कोऽत्र भोः । (प्रविशति चेटः)

चेटः—अंअ, अअं सि संगदओ । (आर्य, अयमास्मि सङ्गतकः).

मन्त्र—सौम्य, त्वरिततरमितो गत्वा शूलपाणिसिद्धायतनसंज्ञापटहमाहत्याघोषय—
सम्प्रति कृतराजकार्या वयम् । अतः परं महाहवेन भवितव्यम् । तदायुध-
जीविनां कालः कर्मकराणाम्—इति ।

चेट—जं अंओ आणवेदि । (निष्क्रान्तः) (यदार्थ आज्ञापयति).

(उभौ परिक्रामतः)

वीर—अये ! परिवृत्ता रजनी ।

तन्पारुणरश्मिताडितं
निचितं पमिसागरोपरि ।

तिमिरं परिदृश्यते यथा
स्थितमौर्वानलभूममण्डलम् ॥ २० ॥

मन्त्र—अये ! समुत्थितो दिवसः । पश्य—

दीर्घैर्दिगन्तविटपेषु करैरसंख्यै-
र्नक्षत्रपुष्पतरलेषु नभोद्रुमस्य ।
स्नातोत्थितो जलनिघेरयमंशुमाली
सन्द्यार्चनाय कुसुमापचयं करोति ॥ २१ ॥

(निष्क्रान्ताः सर्वे)

चतुर्थोऽङ्कः

पञ्चमोऽङ्कः ।

(ततः प्रविशति लोकासिः)

लोका—दिष्ट्येदानीं प्रतिलब्धराज्याभिषेको देवः कल्याणवर्मा ! दिष्ट्या बत्सानु-
बन्धो निहतश्चण्डसेनहतकः ! कुतः—

प्रकटितवर्णाश्रमपथमुन्मूलितचण्डसेनराजकुलम् ।
कल्पन(?)मिव नमति जनः (सकलः) कल्याणराजम् ॥ १ ॥

(परिक्रम्य) अहो तु खलु विटजनाभ्यार्चितकर्णीपुत्रकीर्तिस्तम्भालङ्कृतराजमार्गस्य
कुसुमपुरवेशस्य परा श्रीः । इह हि—

वारस्त्रीव्यतिकरपेशलं समाजं
व्याकोशीकुतलटहं विटोत्तमानाः ।
गोष्ठीषु प्रदितवेचतो महोक्षा
हुङ्कारध्वानः खरान्विदम्बयन्ति ॥ २ ॥

अये ! अयं पुराणविटो वेशरक्षितः । शान्तनवमिव शरतरूपगतं वेशवाट-
मकरकेतुंमन्दिरावसन्नमेनं पश्यामि । कुतः—

साकेतेऽकृतकौतुको विकलितः काञ्चीपुरे काञ्चिभिः
पम्पायामभिसारितः परिजनैर्विज्ञापितो वैदिशे ।
गोत्रेषु स्वलितः कटाहनगरे यः कुण्डिने म(ष्टु?)ण्डितो
वेशस्त्रीनिकषोपलंश्चिरतरं भूत्वैव निष्ठां गर्तः ॥ ३ ॥

(ततः प्रविशति वेशरक्षितः)

वेश—(निःश्वस्य) अहो ! कृतान्तहतक, धिक् त्वामसदृशसंयोगकारिणम् । पश्य—

पौरस्त्यैर्यमिनां धातः पाश्चात्यैश्च विलासिनाम् ।
व्यत्ययो न त्वया दृष्टो वयोभिरितरेतरम् ॥ ४ ॥

लोका—(उपेत्य) भाव, किमेकाग्रेण चेतसा चिन्तयसि ?

वेश—अये ! लोकाक्षिरक्षदासः ।

यत्प्राभृतं रहसि वेशविलासिनीनां
गोष्ठीषु यानि फणितानि सुहृज्जनानाम् ।
सान्द्रे निशातमसि यानि च साहसानि
तान्येव यौवनसुखानि विचिन्तयामि ॥ ५ ॥

लोका—पर्यन्तपरिहरणीयानाहुर्विषयान्, विशेषतस्तु वेशवासः । पश्य—

दातारं करणप्रयोगनिपुणं मन्दस्मिताभाषिणं
सम्पन्नं नवयौवनं प्रणयिनं रूपेण शीलाधिकम् ।
बन्धक्या पुरुषप्रकाण्डमुचितं त्यक्त्वा परम्प्राकृतः
कृल्लग्रन्धिरवन्तिमाषविभवोऽष्ट तालद्वितीयते ॥ ६ ॥

वेश—धिक् ! भवन्तं श्रोत्रियमार्गानुसारिणम् । पर्यन्यपरितापनात्किल ते विरक्ता
विषयेषु । तत्र पुनस्तत्रमवतां प्रज्ञापराधः । पश्य—

वेशे दत्तकसूत्रपाठनपरस्त्रीसूत्रमानास्पदे
स्वैरसैर्विनयानुकूलगतिभिर्नीत्वा वयो मध्यमम् ।

स्याविर्ये तदस्मृतिप्रतिनिधिन्यायेन किं नेष्यते
तत्त्वं न प्रतिपद्यते किमु विटस्त्रैविद्यवृद्धो जनः ॥ ७ ॥

छिद्यतामियं कथा । सौम्य, चिराद्दृश्यसे । कुतः ? कथय ।

लोका—कुतश्चित् कारणादितः शूरसेनमथुरां गत्वा प्रतिनिवृत्तोऽस्मि ।

वेश—अस्त्यपूर्वा शौरसेनी कथा ?

लोका—अस्ति ; यदुनाथः स्वां दुहितरं कीर्तिमतीमस्मत्स्वामिने देवाय कल्याण-
वर्मणे प्रतिपादयितुं व्यवसितः ।

वेश—द्वे अप्येते राजकुले परस्परेण समवायमर्हतः । कः पुनरिदानीमुपोद्धातः ?

लोका—भगवत्येव विन्ध्यवासिनी ।

वेश—कुलदैवतं हि यदूनामेकानङ्गा । ततस्ततः ।

लोका—अस्ति कीर्तिषेणराजकुले परमसम्भृता योगसिद्धिर्नाम परिव्राजिका । सा
कदाचिद्ब्रह्मसि देव्या सह जामातृविशेषमन्तरेण चिन्तयन्तं राजानमेकेन चित्र-
पटेनोपस्थितवती । तत्र किल चित्रपटे कीर्तिमतीकल्याणवर्मणोः प्रतिकृति
द्वयमालिखितमासीत् । ततः किमेतदिति पृष्ट्वा सती भगवती चित्रगतेयं मिथु-
नकल्पना प्रतिपत्तव्येत्येकानङ्गानुशासनमाख्यातवती ।

वेश—कथमेतत् ? कथं कथितो भवान्या ?

लोका—श्रूयताम्—सम्प्राप्तायां तस्यां किल रजन्यां—

भसितधवलमूर्तिराविरासीत्
कलविलाचनविभ्रमा भवानी ।
कलमकणिकान्तं द्रहन्ती
शशिश्चकलाभरणं कपर्दभारम् ॥ ८ ॥

ततः सा-

ज्ञानकामि- बन्धुमती कुमारमविमा कं कुरङ्गीव ।
अर्हति कीर्तिमतीवं कान्तं कल्याणवर्माणम् ॥ ९ ॥

इत्येनामार्यां पठित्वा चित्रपटं दत्त्वा झटिति तिरोभूता । यः स चित्रपटः
स्वहस्ते गृहीतः स परिव्राजिकायाः प्रतिबोधेऽपि हस्ते दृष्टः ।

वेश—प्रसन्ना भगवती । बह्वाश्चर्याणि दैवतानि ! ततस्ततः ।

लोका—ततस्तस्यामवस्थायामस्मत्स्वामिपुरोहितसूनुरायैरक्षितः कन्यावरणार्थं राज-
कुलं प्राप्तवान् । ततो मन्त्रिमिः सह सम्भूय दैवनिर्मितमेतदिति कृतबुद्धिरा-
सीद्यदुनाथः ।

वेश—अहो ! सङ्गचारिण्यभ्युदयपरम्परा देवस्य कल्याणवर्मणः ।

(नेपथ्ये)

भोः कुसुमपुरवासिनः पौराः, शृण्वन्तु शृण्वन्तु भवन्तो मन्त्रिमहत्तरस्य
मन्त्रगुप्तस्य वचनम्—नित्योत्सवेऽपि कुसुमपुरे महोत्सवः समादिश्यते ।
कुतः—

प्रासादशृङ्गमधिरुह्य दिदृक्षतेऽसौ

हर्षोत्सवप्रमुदितं नगरं नरेन्द्रः ।

उज्जृम्भमाणमुदधिं समुदीयमानः

पूर्वाचलेन्द्रशिखरादिव पूर्णचन्द्रः ॥ १० ॥

लोका—राज्यलाभसभाजनव्यपदेशेन शूरसेनसचिवेषु राजदुहितरमादाय प्राप्तेषु शङ्के
समादिष्टोऽयमुत्सवः । तदहमपि महोत्सवं द्रक्ष्यामि ।

वेश—साधयतु भवान् । (निष्क्रान्तौ)

विष्कम्भकः

(ततः प्रविशति परिव्राजिका)

परि—साधु भोः साहं मन्त्रगुप्तमार्गानुसारिणी प्रकृतिरिव पुरुषाधिष्ठिता कल्याण-
वर्माभ्युदयमेवं निरवर्तयम् । कुतः—

यदयं नृपसूनवे नृपः स्वयमेव स्वसुतां प्रयच्छति ।

(विमृश्य)

अथ वैष भवेदनुग्रहो भगवत्या मम सा प्रसीदतु ॥ ११ ॥

तकल्यस्य राज्ञो विप्रलम्भः कृत इति किञ्चिदिव मे हृदयस्यापरितोषः ।

अथवानुगुणेन तत्सुतां घटयन्त्या मगधेन्द्रसूनुना ।

पदुबन्धविबुद्धये मया छलयन्त्यापि नृपो न बञ्चितः ॥ १२ ॥

निपुणिकया सह विविक्तरूपे प्रमदवने वत्सा क्रीर्तिमती । प्रथमं तावन्महा-
राजवचनात् सभाजनीयो मगधेश्वरः, पश्चात् कुमारी पुरोधसा । यावदहमपि
मन्त्रगुप्तं पश्यामि । (निष्क्रान्ता)

(ततः प्रविशति राजा विदूषकश्च)

राजा—(निःश्वस्य)

प्राप्तं पाटलिपुत्रमेव नगरं नम्रा मुहुः पार्थिवाः

सेना सिम्धुदिग्भिनी परिणता सिद्धं च सिंहासनम् ।

श्लाघ्यं मध्यप्रदेशेऽल्लक्षकुदच्छत्रं च मे धार्यते

तामप्राप्य नृपात्मजां परिकरः सर्वोऽयमाढम्बरः ॥ १३ ॥

विदू—भो वणस्स, मा संतप्पाहि ; अत्थि आसावसरो ; बहुएहि उवाअणेहि सूर-
सेणणाहपुरोहिदो भवंतं उवतिट्ठदि ।

भो वयस्य, मा सन्तप्य : अस्त्याशाक्सरः ; बहुभिरुपायनैः शूरसेननाभपुरोहितो
भवन्तमुपतिष्ठते)

राजा—इदं किलशास्पदम् ! अस्मात्पितुः पुरा परं मित्रं शूरसेननाभः । स इदानीं
प्रतिलब्धराज्यं मां निशम्य समाजयितुं पुरोधसं प्रेषितवानिति यावत् ।

(प्रविश्य दौवारिकः)

दौवा—जेदु आसाजा । एसो सूरसेणणाहपुरोहिदो पढिहारे चिट्ठदि ।

(जयतु महाराजः । शूरसेननाभपुरोहितः प्रतीहारे तिष्ठति)

राजा—अविलम्बितं प्रवेक्ष्यैनम् ।

दौवा—जं भट्टा आणवेदि । (यद्गता आज्ञापयति) (निष्क्रान्तः).

(ततः प्रविशति पुरोहितो दौवारिकश्च)

पुरो—(स्वगतम्) राजानं सभाजयित्वा पश्चान्मन्त्रगुप्तैः योगसिद्ध्या च सह कुमारीमन्तरेण सर्वं समर्थयिष्यामि । साधु भोः—

प्राप्त इव साधुवादं संगुणघटनानिबन्धनं धाता ।

तामपि तेन नृपसुतां सृचमिव साम्ना समानयति ॥ १४ ॥

दौषा—इदो इदो अंओ (इत इत आर्यः) (उभौ परिक्रामतः)

विदू—अच्चाहिदं एदं तत्तहोदीए विरहविधुरं चित्तं; ण कज्जेण किंचि किलंमदि दे हिअअं । (अत्याहितमेतत् तत्रभवत्या विरहविधुरं चित्तम् । न कार्येण किञ्चित् क्लाम्यति ते हृदयम्)

राजा—अतिमुग्धमभिहितम् । पश्य—

गिरिमिव दुर्वहरूपं वियोगदुःखं वहामि कान्तायाः ।

मम किल तस्यापि सखे कन्दुकलघु राज्यमतिभारम् ॥ १५ ॥

पुरो—(उपेत्य) वर्द्धतां देवः ।

मालीन्दुःखं जलितैरमृतप्रवाहै-

रा रे वतीयकुसुमासवसैकसिक्तैः ।

गौरीरतिमविनोदविधानशेषैः

शम्भुश्चिरं तव करोतु महाभिषेकम् ॥ १६ ॥

राजा—आसनमत्रभवतः ।

दौषा—एदं आसणं, उवविसदु अंओ । (एतदासनम्, उपविशत्वार्यः ।)

पुरो—उपविशतु देवः । (उभाकुपविशतः)

राजा—अपि कुशली शूरसेनेश्वरः ?

पुरो—कुशली कीर्तिषेण इह भक्तमनामयं पृच्छति । मय्यस्य सन्देशो वर्तते ।

राजा—यदाज्ञापयति प्रभुः ?

पुरो—त्वामाह कीर्तिषेण—वत्स कस्याणवर्मन्,

राज्ञी सुपुत्रा मज्जेन्द्रपुत्रे

श्वःश्रेयसं तेऽस्तु चिराय जीव ।

दिष्ट्या पुनः पुष्पपुरे सुगात्रं

प्रासादमध्यासितवान् कुमारः ॥ १७ ॥

पुनरप्याह—

अलङ्कृतमलं मन्ये द्वयोर्वक्षःस्थलद्वयम् ।

शार्ङ्गिणः कौस्तुभं रत्नं हारः खल्वप्यहं मेघः ॥ १८ ॥

इति हारमिमं प्रेषितवानिह भवते । (विदूषकस्य हस्ते हारमर्पयति)

विद्—(अपवार्य) एसो हारो, पेख्वदु पेख्वदु भवं । (—) (एष हारः, प्रेषतां भवान्).

राजा—(सकुतूहलं हारं पश्यति)

पुरो—देवस्य सकुतूहला दृष्टिः शूरसेनराजकुलसर्वस्वमिदं हाररत्नम् । अस्ति वा हारावतरणश्रवणे कुतूहलम् ?

राजा—कुतूहलिनो वयम् ।

पुरो—श्रोतुमर्हति देवः । तदा खलु महामारतसाम्पराये वर्तमाने—

सव्यं दक्षिणमस्यतः प्रशमितो यः सुप्रतीकः श्रै-

श्वक्रज्जहृथकमभेदघटनाशाण्डस्य गाण्डीविनः ।

हारः कुम्भसः श्वैर्विरांचतस्तारागणस्यार्तिभैः

प्रत्यादिप्रहाराप्रहाराकलैस्तस्यैष कलाफलः ॥ १९ ॥

राजा—अहो ! तु खलु वीरजनस्पृहणीयोऽयमपूर्वो रत्नहारः ।

पुरो—ततः—वाग्नेयी चतटकुटुमाभिताम्रैः

प्रत्यग्रक्षतिभिरिवापलज्जमानैः ।

संघृष्टः कपटकिरातशस्त्रमार्गे-

वीभत्सोरपि भुजमध्यमध्यवासीत् ॥ २० ॥

राजा—उत्पत्त्यनुरूपो विनियोगः । ततस्ततः ।

पुरो—ततस्तथाभूतेषु वृष्णिषु सागरप्रस्तायां द्वारवत्यां प्रतिष्ठापितपरीक्षितः प्रव्रजितु-
कामस्य राजर्षेर्युधिष्ठिरस्यादेशाद्भनञ्जयेन शूरसेनेषु [पञ्चा] मिथानं वृष्णिकुमारं
प्रतिष्ठापयता हारालङ्कारो दत्तः । तत्परम्परया कीर्तिषेणं प्राप्तः । मद्रं तव ।

राजा—(पर्यश्रुनयनो हारं निरीक्षते)

पुरो—कथं हारदर्शनात् पर्यश्रुनयनो देवः संवृत्तः ?

विद्—पुष्णसुलोआणं आभमीढाणं संकिच्छणे कस्स ण होइ अस्सुणिवाओ ? का
कहा तेहिं धारिअअपुव्वाभरणदंसणेण ?
(पुण्यश्लोकानामाजमीढानां सङ्कीर्तने कस्य न भवति अश्रुपातः ? का कथा
तैर्द्वारितापूर्वाभरणदर्शनेन ?)

पुरो—भजमानमभिहितम् ।

राजा—आचार्य, विश्राम्यताम् । नन्दक, मद्रचनानुच्यतां मन्त्रगुप्तः—विश्रान्तसु-
खिनमार्थं द्रष्टास्मि

नन्द—जं महालाओ आणवेदि । (यन्महाराज आज्ञापयति)

पुरो—यदभिलषितं देवस्य । (नन्दकेन सह निष्क्रान्तः)

विद्—किंदाणीं मुख्वअं ? (किमिदानीं मोहितम् ?)

राजा—(हारमुरसि निधाय) सखे, हारदर्शनात् पुनर्नवीभूतो मे मदनः । पश्य—

स कालः सकलो नूनं गतोऽपि पुनरागतः ।

मया मायेव सम्प्राप्ता सा यदा यादवी सुता ॥ २१ ॥

क नु खलु पर्युत्सुकमात्मानं विनोदयामि ?

विद्—भोजनसालं गच्छामो, आहु महाणसम् ?
(भोजनशालां गच्छावः, उत महानसम् ?)

राजा—मुक्तः परिहासः ।

नाभीवापीप्रविष्टः स्तनशिखरमतो रोमरेखापदेन
प्रत्युत्पन्नप्रतापः स्फुरदधरमणिव्याजनीराजनेत्र ।
लब्धो लीलाकटाक्षैर्मनसिजकलभो वर्तते दुर्निवारो
देव्या लब्धप्रसादः कलमणिरशनाडिण्डिमारोजेन ॥ २२ ॥

अपि च—

काप्तावियोगज्वलनाभितप्ते
चित्ते मदीये हरबद्धवैरः ।
दाहक्षमं कर्तुमिवात्मदेहं
दाहाभियोगं मदनो विधत्ते ॥ २३ ॥

विदू—होदु, पमदवणं एव पविसामो । (भवतु, प्रमदवनमेव प्रविश्चावः)

राजा—अग्रतो भव । (उभौ परिक्रामतः)

विदू—पत्ता ह्य पमदवणं, विणोदेहि अत्ताणं ।
(प्राप्तौ स्वः प्रमदवनम्, विनोदयात्मानम्)

राजा—सखे, अतिक्रान्तचिकित्सः परोक्षो मदनातङ्कः । पश्य—

पार्श्वस्थेव पुरः स्थितेव दिवसे रात्रौ च सर्वात्मना
सङ्कल्पेन यथा पुरः प्रियतमा सैवेयमालक्ष्यते ।
रम्यद्वेषनिबन्धनो मनसि मे कष्टं वियोगोचितः
सन्तापोऽप्युपचीयते भगवतो धातुर्विचित्रा गतिः ॥ २४ ॥

विदू—एदं गिहकालमुभयपुल्लमल्लिकाकुसुमदृहासं लआवरं पविसामो । (एतद्-
ग्रीष्मकालः भगफुल्लमल्लिकाकुसुमादृहासं लतागृहं प्रविश्चावः)

राजा—तथास्तु । (उभौ प्रविशतः)

राजा—भोः कृतान्तइतक, भिक् त्वामसदृशसंयोगकारिणम् । कुतः—

या रात्रिर्विरहाभिषङ्गविषमा ज्ञानोन्मत्ती वर्तते
या वा सङ्गमोत्सवमनोभिना सिर्षं ज्ञपा गीयते ।

अथारोहः यदि त्वयेदमुभयं धातः कृतं तावता
लब्धाश्वासमुपप्लवेऽपि मिथुनं न त्वामुपक्रोशति ॥ २५ ॥

(चिन्तापरः शिलातले समुपविष्टः) (ततः प्रविशति कीर्तिमती निपुणिका च)

निपु—भट्टिदारिण, एसो भट्टा, पेख्वदु पेख्वदु भट्टिदारिआ ।
(भर्तृदारिक, एष भर्ता, प्रेक्षतां प्रेक्षतां भर्तृदारिका) .

कीर्ति—अंअउत्तो ! (आर्यपुत्रः) !

निपु—(चित्रपटं दर्शयति)

कीर्ति—(निरीक्ष्य सामूयम्परावर्तेते)

निपु—किं एदं ? (किमिदम् ?)

कीर्ति—हला, दुज्जणो एसो जणो । एत्तिअं कालं विरहविहुरं इमं जणं विसुमरिअ
अण्णाए सह रममाणो दीसइ
हला, दुर्जन एष जनः । एतावन्तं कालं विरहविधुरमिमं जनं विस्मृत्या-
न्यया सह रममाणो दृश्यते)

निपु—(अत्मगतम्) हुं ! सुमरणावद्धिअहिअअदाए चित्तगदं भट्टारं परमत्थं जाणिअ
अत्तपडिकिदिदंसणजाणिअअणवद्धिर्विन्भमा भट्टिदारिआ । (प्रकाशम्) अत्तणो
पडिकिदीए वंचिदासि । (—) (स्मरणावर्तितहृदयतया चित्रगतं भर्तारं
परमार्थं ज्ञात्वा आत्मप्रतिकृतिदर्शनजनितान्यवधूविभ्रमा भर्तृदारिका । (—)
आत्मनः प्रतिकृत्या वञ्चितासि)

कीर्ति—हद्धि ! अवरद्धा ह्मि । (सत्रीडा तिष्ठति)
(हा धिक् ! अपराद्धास्मि । (—))

निपु—पेख्वदु पेख्वदु भट्टिदारिआ भट्टारं । (प्रेक्षतां प्रेक्षतां भर्तृदारिका भर्तारम्)

कीर्ति—हला, कहिं उपविसिअ विस्सद्धा अंअउत्तसारिख्वदंसणेण दिहिं त्तेसेभि ?
(हला, कुत्रोपविश्य विस्सद्धा आर्यपुत्रसादृश्यदर्शनेन दृष्टिं तोषयामि)

निपु—एदं अगदो लब्धाघरं, तहिं पविसामो । (परिक्रामतः) (इदमग्रतो लतागृहम्,
तत्र पविशावः) (१००)

विदू—किं तत्तद्दोदा चिंतीअदि ? (किमत्रभवता चिन्त्यते ?)

निपु—भट्टिदारिप, लब्धावरब्धन्तरे अंअवैखानसस्स विअ सरो सुणी-
बिडपंतरेण पेरुवामो । (भर्तृदारिके, लतागृहाभ्यन्तरे आर्यवैखानसस्सदि । लब्धा-
श्रूयते । लताबिडपान्तरेण प्रेक्षावहि) जेव स्वरः

कीर्ति—एवं होदु । (तथा कुरुतः) एवं भवतु (—)

निपु—अहो भट्टा ! (अहो भर्ता !)

कीर्ति—ण हु अंअउत्तो, णाहं अस्स समीवे चिट्ठामि ।
(न खलु भर्ता, नाहमस्य समीपे तिष्ठामि) (परावर्तितुमारभते)

निपु—णं राजणेपच्छदंसणेण विप्पलब्धासि ।
(ननु राजनेपथ्यदर्शनेन विप्रलब्धासि)

कीर्ति—उंमत्तिए, कहं सो पुण्णमसीचंदं लज्जावअंतो महाराओ ?
(उन्मत्तिके, कथं स पौर्णमासीचन्द्रं लज्जापयन्महाराजः ?)

निपु—तु ह विरहोव्वभासरीरस्स भट्टिणो पञ्चूषचंदसारिसी मुहसिरी तस्स ; पुण अस्सं
समीवे अंअवैखानसो मंतेदि । (तव विरहोद्विग्नशरीरस्य गर्तुः प्रत्यूषचन्द्र-
सदृशी मुखश्रीस्तस्य, पुनरस्य समीपे आर्यवैखानसो मन्त्रयते)

विदू—एक्को जंबुक्को विअ कोसुतो सोहइ, ता पडिवअणं देहि ।
(एको जम्बुक इव कोशन् न शोभते, तत् प्रतिवचनं देहि)

राजा—सखे, वैखानस,

कीर्ति—हुं ! अंअउत्तो, हला, अग्गदो होहि ।
(हु ! आर्यपुत्रः, हला, अग्रतो भव)

निपु—भट्टिदारिप, कीस मए वारणं अंणेसअदि ? णं तुए एव्व सव्वंगीणो आमुत्तो
रोमंअकंबुओ । (भर्तृदारिके, कात्यायन वारणमन्विष्यते ! ननु त्वयैव सर्वा-
ङ्गीण आमुक्को रामाश्चकः कः)

कीर्ति—हला किं मं लज्जावेसि ? (हला किं मां लज्जापयसि ?)

राजा—प्रियायाः प्रथमसमागममेव चिन्तयामि—

पातुं पद्मसुगन्धि लोलनयनं रोमाञ्चितं गण्डयो-
र्यावद्विद्रुमपाटलाधरपुटं वक्त्रं मयोन्नामितम् ।
वैलक्ष्यप्रतिषेधविक्रमगिरा तन्व्या तथा मुग्धया
पश्चात्ताम्ररुचा करेण मम तु प्रच्छादिते लोचने ॥ २६ ॥

अपि च तदानीमेव कदाचित्—

दृष्ट्वासन्ने मयि तु सहसौ स्वां वधूं वञ्चयित्वा .
लौल्यात् पीत्वा कमलमधुपं कामपि प्रार्थयन्तम् ।
ध्यात्वा दूये सजलनयनं भङ्गुरभ्रपताकं
प्रेमार्द्रं यत्प्रणयकुपितं कोपनायाः प्रियायाः ॥ २७ ॥

विदू—वअस्स, एकं राअकज्जं मंतेमि ।
(वयस्य, एकं राजकार्यं मन्त्रयामि)

राजा—छन्दतः ।

विदू—दाणिं पत्तरज्जाणं अह्मअपिच्छिअचिट्ठंताणं किं तेण अदिक्कंतेण इण्णिआवुत्तं-
तेण ? (इदानीं प्राप्तराज्यानां अशित्वा पीत्वा तिष्ठतां ? किं तेनातिक्रान्तेन
स्त्रीवृत्तान्तेन ?)

राजा—धिग्वैधेयम् ।

निपु—अवेहि दुट्ठवडुअ, जदा तुवं राआ तदा एदं राअकज्जम् ।
(अपेहि दुष्टवदुक, यदा त्वं राजा तदेदं राजकार्यम्)

कीर्ति—(स्मितं करोति)

राजा—अयि प्रिये—

नेहमेव तथापि नेदं
चक्षुः कृतार्थमिति केवलमातुरं मे ।
आबलिगते वरतनु स्वजने जनानां
प्राप्ते मनोरथशतेऽपि कुतः प्रमोदः ॥ २८ ॥

निपु—भट्टिदारिप, अतिकरणं भट्टा मन्तेदि ।

(भर्तुदारिके, अतिकरणं भर्ता मन्त्रयते)

कीर्ति—णत्थि मे वअणावअरो । (नास्ति मे वचनावसरः)

निपु—इमं दाव चित्तपटं भट्टिणो अगदो णिखिववामि । (तथा करोति)

(इमं तावच्चित्रपटं भर्तुरग्रतो निक्षिपामि) (—)

विदू—अविहा ! अविहा ! एसो पिण्डिअभोअण्डलो वाअधिबहुकोढविसमो महा-
णाओ महानाओ ।

(अविहा ! अविहा ! एष पिण्डितभोगमण्डलोवालधिबहुकोढविषमो महानागो
महानागः)

राजा—(निरूप्य) अयं स चित्रपटः सखे, गृह्यताम् ।

विदू—ही ! ही ! ण खु अयं महानाओ, चित्तपडा, गेहेमि ।

(ही ! ही ! न खल्वयं महानागः, चित्रपटः, गृह्णामि)

राजा—कुतोऽस्य चित्रपटस्यावतारः ? लतागृहान्निर्गत्य जानीमः ।

(उभौ निर्गमं नाटयतः)

निपु—जेदु भट्टा । (जयतु भर्ता)

कीर्ति—जेदु अंअउत्तो । (जयत्वार्यपुत्रः)

(उभौ प्रणमतः) (राजा कीर्तिमतीमुत्थाप्य परिष्वजते)

राजा—को नामावामभ्युदयविशेषः । अथ वा सखे वैस्तानस—

पश्यतोऽपि न विश्वासः सखेदं च सखे मम ।

सङ्कल्पदृष्ट्या देव्या बहुशो वञ्चिता वयम् ॥ २९ ॥

विदू—किं एवं सखे अं ण वेत्ति एसो संवन्नीणो रोमणो ण्णिव्वत्त ।

(किमेतत्सत्यं न वेत्ति एष संवन्नीणो रोमाञ्चः प्रहृष्टः)

निपु—दिष्टिआ पडिवण्णराअसहं भट्टिदारिआ भट्टारं पेरुवदि ।
(दिष्टिआ प्रतिपन्नराजशब्दं भट्टिदारिका भर्तारं प्रेक्षते).

राजा—(सहर्षम्) अयि निपुणिके—

प्रायशः पृथिवीशानां भोगैश्वर्यविडम्बना ।

कीर्तिमत्येव मे लक्ष्मीरिति गर्वस्मिता वृथम् ॥ ३० ॥

(अपवार्य) सखे वैखानस, किमेतावद्यावदविदितमस्माभिः ।

विदू—एदं मतंगुतो जाणादि । (एतन्मन्त्रगुप्तो जानाति).

राजा—साधु मन्त्रगुप्त, साधु ; सम्यगाराधितोऽस्मि । सखे वैखानस ।

कविरिव वृषपर्वणो विभूतिं

बलमिव शूर्पकशासिनो वसन्तः ।

गरुरिव शतयज्वनः प्रबोधं

किमु न करोति चिरन्तनः सखा मे ॥ ३१ ॥

विदू—ही ही सामाअमाणदिअसपच्चिमजामो ओषट्ठिअदिसामुखो मेहारोवो सगन्ध-
वंहो संतासइस्सिदि, ता पविसह्म अब्भंतंरं । (ही ही श्यामायमानदिवसप-
श्चिमयामोऽवघट्टितादिशामुखो मेहांरोपः सगन्धवहः सन्त्रासयिष्यति । तत्प्रवि-
शामोऽभ्यन्तरम् ।

की—(मेघस्तनितं निशम्य) अंअउत्त, परिताआहि । (कम्पोत्तरं परिरभते) (—) (आर्य-
पुत्र परित्राहि (—)

राज—साधु भो. अमपरितोषिताः स्मः । प्रिये, दृश्यतां मधु (गज ?) घनसमयाव-
तारः—

कक्षैषा करभोरु काञ्चनमयी मिथ्या तु विद्युलता

श्रामच्छक्रशरासनच्छलवहः शृङ्गाररेखाविधिः ।

वर्षात्माकरशीकरव्यतिकरो गर्वोर्जितं गर्जितं

तैस्तैरम्बुदगोचरैः सुरगजो लिङ्गैः समुल्लिङ्गितः ॥ ३२ ॥

अपि च—

वृत्तारम्भप्रवित्ततश्चिखथेष्टतां नीलकण्ठो
 भृङ्गाघ्रातं सुरभिककुम्भः पुष्पमाविष्करोतु ।
 गण्डाभोग्यमतिरस्यत्वं वेणिमुद्देष्टयन्तु ॥ ३३ ॥

(निष्क्रान्ताः स्वे)

पञ्चमोऽङ्कः

कौमुदीमहोत्सवः समाप्तः ।

